

Four Oral Versions of a Story about the Origin of the Bajo People of Southern Selayar

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Prelude: Searching for the Bajo¹

The following is a fortuitous result of a research about traditional knowledge and beliefs about the sea, boatbuilding and navigation of three sea-orientated ethnic groups of South-Sulawesi, i.e. Mandarese fishermen, the Konjo boatbuilders and sailors and the Bajo population of Southern Selayar. Research around Selayar was conducted during February - July 1996 and started again last month to be (hopefully) continued until February; as it proved by no means easy to find villages occupied by a population which could be termed 'genuine' Bajo (not to speak about Bajo people still living on boats) I used the question for people who know about the origin of the Bajo as a first means of inquiry during my rummaging through the southern parts of the Bay of Bone, along the west coast of Selayar to the islands to the south. I came to know fast, that knowledge about the origin of the Bajo tribe is a very important point in defining Bajo identity - people who do not know about their origin but claim to be Bajo are called *Bajo-Bajo*: "They just know Bajo language, but don't know their story", as one informant formulated. Besides knowledge about the story of Bajo origin -or, much more, ownership of a *lontaraq bilang*² manuscript containing the story and the genealogy of the family-, a certain kind of flag called *ula-ula* in *Baong Bajo*, the Bajo language, and/or *pustaka*-items like old weapons were frequently mentioned as token of 'true Bajo-ship'; during my search I therefore too asked for these. As the boat which I use as a research basis usually shows a long Mandarese flag named *ula-ular* in Mandar which is matching to the *ula-ula* of the Bajo (I later on will return to this striking similarity), my questioning was readily accepted in the villages, and in some cases old people came along to the boat asking after the origin of *my* flag even before I could ask them about theirs. Part of the results of this research 'polity' are three cassette recordings of which two (i.e., the Jampea and the Kayuadi versions) had been arranged as special occasions to record the story of the origin of the Bajo people by the villagers themselves who seemed to be keen about having 'their' story told and preserved on tape.

Being oral versions only, the stories naturally are fragmentary: The people interviewed were not professional story tellers, but had been pointed out as being versed in traditions, especially in Bajo history. All informants stressed, that they could not recite the whole story in all details, but that the original story contained in *lontaraq* manuscript must be complete - all of them had seen or once owned a version of that (or better: those) *lontaraq*, but I was not able to procure or even have a glance upon a version of these famed manuscripts. However, I was able to locate at least two manuscripts: The *lontaraq* of Kayuadi was taken to Salamung near Kupang by a senior member of the Bajo nobles of that island, and the one of Ara/Pulau Sembilan/Mangatti was taken by the uncle of the original owner to Labuhan Bajo in Flores "because he felt offended by the Bajos there he borrowed the *lontaraq* to prove his origin", as the owner in Ara stated. Some informants said, that there are more manuscripts in Rajuni and Tarupa in Taka Bonerate, but the informants from Kayuadi doubted it and explained that it must be copies of the 'true' original of their family "which is written on leaves and skin in golden letters"; yet I did not see an opportunity to proceed to Taka Bonerate. Several other manuscripts which were mentioned by elders obviously got lost: The ones of Jampea and Apa Tana vanished during the second world war, the one of Pulau Guang/Kayu Pandah was taken away by Selayar nobleman and was reported to be in Dongkalang, in possession of a noble in Benteng Selayar or stored together with other manuscripts in the palace of Batangmata - after my fruitless search for the one of Ara which took me all over the islands I found these informations too uncertain to start another search.

In this paper I will not attempt to try to compare the stories or parts with similar motives found in the I La Galigo epos or other legends or elaborate on the genealogies which were given together with the stories, but just keep to conclusions which can be derived from the stories themselves and some additional information obtained in the field and from the locally available literature only - I guess, that amongst the readers there will be found specialists who are much more versed in

¹ As 'Bajo' is commonly used by the people of South-Sulawesi -be it the Bajo of Selayar themselves -, to designate the people who are said "to live / have lived on the sea only", I here too will use the term 'Bajo' for labelling the ethnic group called 'Bajau', 'Sama', 'Orang Laut', 'Sea Gypsies' or else by others. 'Bajo' is quite probably a Bugis word; the Makassarese pronunciation is 'Bayao/u' or 'Bayo'. The term 'Sama' or 'Same', repeatedly mentioned in the literature as self-designation of the Bajo people, was readily accepted by informants, but often equalled with 'To/u-ri-jeqneq' (MAK: 'People-on-Water'); however, in the stories the name 'Lolo Same' mentioned in literature (e.g., Soesangobeng 1977) for indicating the Bajo nobility was not used, but throughout 'Lolo Bajo' - two renderings about Bajo social structure by Bajo informants are found in 2.. Explanations for different names are given by e.g. Sopher 1965/77:158ff, Soesangobeng 1977:42ff, Dahlan 1985:ii, Abu Hamid et.al. 1986:10

² As this is the only type of *lontaraq* manuscript which is of concern for the stories, I will omit the *bilang* in the following.

South Sulawesi mythology and legends than I can ever claim to be. However, the stories -or better, the differences of the versions- themselves will illustrate indigenous perceptions of history and rank, and combined with the pieces of additional information which I could collect are hints on guessing at least a bit on migrations of the Bajo in the area under discussion.

In the following I will give outlines of each story laying stress on some crucial points; the transcripts of two recordings are found in an appendix. During the interviews the informants tended to mix up 'their' individual story with lots of bits of other stories - this especially is the case with the recording from Jampea. I however will try to keep the re-renderings as close as possible to the flow of narration. Language of interviewing was Indonesian which will be found in between "double citation marks" in the text; citations in local languages (except some of the names) in Indonesian and English text will be printed in *italics* with explanations in [cornered brackets]. In order to ease comparison, some names of personage and places of importance are underlined. I use the following abbreviations for local languages: BAJ - Bajo; BUG - Bugis; MAK - Makassar; SEL - Selayar; the glottal stop will be rendered by /q/.

1 Setting: The Bajo Population of Southern Selayar

What is termed 'Southern Selayar' in the headline, here will comprise the islands to the south of Selayar as well as the southern (and in one case western) part of the island of Selayar itself (compare maps in 4.2). The population of these islands consists of several ethnic groups, i.e. a mainly Selayar population on the island Selayar itself as well as on Bahuluang, Pulasi, Tambolongan, Jampea (and adjacent smaller islands), Lambego, Kalaotoa, Kayuadi, and Karompa, an ethnic group labelled Bonerate on the island of this name as well as on Lambego, Kalaotoa and Pulau Madu which descended from the islands around Buton, two small communities called Barang-Barang and Laiyolo in the southern part of Selayar mainland, Bugis villages on the islands of Jinato, Tarupa and Rajuni in the Taka Bonerate area and on Bonerate and, last but not least, the Bajo. Today villages with a mainly Bajo population are found in the Bay of Guang (Dusun Bajo Kayu Pandah), at the southern cape of Selayar (Apa Tana), on Kayuadi (Dusun Bajo, the southern part of the main village, and a small group in Bone Lambere on the northern tip of the island), on all inhabited islands in the Taka Bonerate area except Jinato, in the western parts of Jampea mainland (Desa Kombang Ragi, Desa Doda) and on the west shore of Karompa³. However, descendants of Bajo people are found in various other places; I here will mention only the villages of Polong and Dongkalang on mainland Selayar, both villages on Pulau Bembe (off Jampea) and the village of Labuang Mangatti (Jampea mainland), where they form a considerable element of the population. As you will note on the maps, these islands are isolated enough and therefore quite difficult to access: Regular public transport except to Benteng Jampea and Bonerate is sparse and unreliable, so that using one's own boat is the only way to come around. I, however, succeeded in visiting the places underlined on the map only - weather and conditions of the sea are other restraining factors. Additionally I will include some of the data which I collected in the islands of Kanalo and Kambuno belonging to the group of Pulau Sembilan off the coast of Sinjai, as there are references to the Bajo population of these islands in the accessible literature (Pelras 1972 cited in Sopher 1965/77) and the family of one of our story-tellers originates from there.

The Bajo today live in villages on shore, and quite probably there is no floating settlement or groups of boats forming 'anchorage villages' left in the whole area. Livelihood of the majority of the Bajo is provided by the sea; a typical occupation of today's Bajo is diving for tripang (Apa Tana, Kayuadi, Passi Tallu, Kanalo and Kambuno in Pulau Sembilan) or pearls (Polong, Kayu Pandah); additionally a wide variety of collecting (the typical Bajo settlement is marked by heaps of empty *kima*-shells which often form parts of seawalls or house foundations) and fishing techniques is used, including harpooning and spearing, in which the Bajo excel. Some of the villages owned/own trading vessels employed in barter trade throughout the archipelago; of the villages visited Dusun Bajo Kayuadi seems to have the longest tradition of Bajo trading, today mainly in timber which is transported on motorised *lambo*-cutters to Java. A quite recent way of making money is collecting of *nener*-shrimps⁴ for the ever-growing shrimp industries: Several families of Kayu Pandah, for example, seasonally even move to Flores where *nener* pays good rates. There, however, is always and still a tendency to use dynamite (or explosives made out of fertiliser) and poison for fishing associated with the Bajo, often induced by Bugis fish traders; typically most of the reefs around long established settlements or hunting grounds are destroyed by poisoning

³ As no census on ethnic membership had been made by the local government, data relies on information collected in administrative offices in Benteng Selayar (Kantor Sosial Politik Kab. Selayar), Benteng Jampea (Kantor Sosial Politik Kec. Jampea) as well as the village offices (Kantor Lurah, Kantor Desa/Lingkungan) of Apa Tana, Kayu Pandah and Kayuadi.

⁴ Small shrimps which are used for breeding in ponds, collected in the shallow waters near sandy shores

and explosives. Surprisingly it showed up, that in many a case individuals said to use explosives for fishing are, too, those who are said to be versed in magic and sorcery about the sea, e.g. 'calling' favourable winds or giant octopuses to help moving sailing boats, 'stopping storms' or using charms for securing their catches.

Typically Bajo villages have no or restricted sources of drinking water, indicating that they had been founded as settlements of a people who on the one hand are not so dependent on direct access to drinking water and who on the other hand were forced to occupy the land 'leftover' by farming populations which already for long had settled all the places where water necessary for agriculture was easily procured. Better part of the villages had been established in the last 50-70 years; beforehand most of these places probably had been anchor spots for Bajo fleets which moved around in the area under discussion, choosing sheltered anchorages according to the direction of the monsoons. Thus, several of today's villages are found in the vicinity of capes which elongate in a north-south direction, thereby affording shelter in both seasons. Perhaps the most characteristic example of this kind of settlement is the village of Apa Tana at the southern tip of Selayar mainland: Having been an anchor spot for (not only) Bajo boats since time immemorial, the local group of Bajo started to build houses on stilts in the shallow water on the reef on the western side when a Selayar entrepreneur invited them to help establish a coconut plantation. After the stilts of the houses fell victim to boring worms, it was decided to move onto shore; when with the introduction of hybrid coconuts and a boom in copra the plantation proved to be a success, more people, both Bajo and Selayar moved to Apa Tana, today forming a village of about 700 people of mixed origin (see 4.2.3). However, the Bajo maintain that members of other ethnic groups living in Apa Tana are 'pendatang' only, as they claim to have been the first inhabitants of the area⁵.

Other settlements evolved in areas which had been used for fishing and gathering, i.e. extensive reefs or mangrove areas. An example of this type of village is the Dusun Bajo of Kayuadi: Following local tradition, the reefs of the western shore had for generations been used for collecting fruits of the sea by Bajo from Rajuni, yet only just before the second world war one *Lolo* family decided to start to build houses -at first only sheds and shelters- there, attracting others to follow. In 1952 a considerable group of Bajo people of Latondu and Rajuni moved to Kayuadi -quite probably to escape from pressure of Darul Islam separatists-, forming the basis of today's settlement. Today the Dusun Bajo is inhabited by ca. 800 people of Bajo origin. While Kayuadi at the time of the establishing of a Bajo village on land already for long was inhabited by Selayar farmers and traders, the islands and extensive reefs of Taka Bonerate and Pulau Sembilan -unsuitable for agriculture out of a severe lack of fresh water- had been colonised by the Bajo before other ethnic groups arrived; as ownership of land and economic power was of not much use for people orientated towards the sea who gained subsistence on a more or less reliable daily basis⁶, in Pulau Sembilan Bugis settlers from Sinjai succeeded in dominating the land of most of the islands⁷, while in Taka Bonerate today Bugis immigrants control trade and commerce of the whole group and form the wealthiest part of the population⁸.

Yet another type of village had quite probably been in existence for several hundreds of years: The genealogy of the *Lolo Bajo* of Jampea (see 3.2), for example, indicates that at least from the second half of the 18th century onward there existed a fixed settlement (including a mosque) of mainly Bajo people on the island of Katelang. Obviously old Bajo settlements in other places are usually associated with their assumed role as ever-ready naval force of maritime orientated kingdoms⁹; however, the islands to the south of Selayar were not known for any statelike reigns of importance, but as one of the hide-away of the 'Sulawesi pirates'¹⁰. The inhabitants of Bajo origin in villages like Katelang nowadays do not differ much from their Selayar (or others) neighbours: Today the Bajo of Jampea work as farmers, even owning and

⁵ Information by villagers of Apa Tana 1994, 1996

⁶ As one informant pointed out, "orang Bajo asli semata-mata pikiran di laut saja, karena tidak ada urusan di darat".

⁷ In Pulau Sembilan quite probably only two of the nine islands, i.e. Batang Lampe and Burung Lohe had been inhabited by Bugis farmers before the emigration waves of Bugis fleeing from the insecurity of the Darul Islam revolution arrived - by the way, just to find out that the Darul Islam guerrilla made Pulau Sembilan to one of their main strongholds short after their arrival. Today only Kanalo I (the eastern island of the double island of Kanalo) is inhabited by a mainly Bajo population, while the other islands are occupied by predominantly Bugis settlers. Following information gathered in January-February 1996, the best anchorages of the group around the island of Kambuno "for centuries" were the rendezvous of the *Lolo Bajo* of Pulau Sembilan, while the lagoon between the two islands of Kanalo was used for collecting shells and fishing; Kanalo I was settled by a secondary line of Bajo nobles when the Bugis started to emigrate onto the islands, quite probably to secure a well situated under a very old tree which for long had been in use as a source of drinking water.

⁸ Information by members of the Lembaga Pengkajian Pedesaan, Pantai dan Masyarakat, an NGO involved in development projects in Taka Bonerate, December 1995

⁹ See, e.g., Sopher 1965/77, Tauchmann 1994

¹⁰ See, e.g., Collins 1936; I will return to this in 3.2.

working paddy-fields, while fishing and collecting is only sideline; Bajo language is used only by elder people "in the house - outside we use Selayar"¹¹.

A new kind of communities was formed by the Indonesian government's efforts to improve the living conditions of the Bajo. An example for this type of settlement is the Dusun Bajo Kayu Pandah, which was built in 1982 for the inhabitants of the islands of Guang and Malimbu. Kayu Pandah, too, clearly shows another facet of settled Bajo life, i.e. a rapid loss of typical Bajo characteristics, including Bajo language. Fig. 4.2.4 shows the ethnic membership of the inhabitants and the language mainly used by the children living in those houses which had been given to the people of Guang, where about 90% of the people had been genuine Bajo using Bajo language as everyday means of communication: Obviously there is a strong tendency to drop off 'Bajoness' as soon as social and cultural environment changes in a milieu dominated by other ethnic groups¹². In Polong on the north-west coast of Selayar -probably the northern counterpart of Apa Tana¹³- people remembered distant family members in Dongkalang, Apa Tana and even Rajuni and the existence of an *ula-ula* flag, but only very old people could still speak some Bajo; in Kanalo and Kambuno today Bugis language nearly completely replaced the Bajo.

However, most of these villages are inhabited, too, by people of other ethnic groups. In Kayuadi several of the trading sailors married Javanese women, thereby inducing other family members to follow; in Kayu Pandah the same happened with people from Flores; in all villages visited Bugis, Selayar and Buton people had joined living in the settlement because of marriage or working ties, mostly speaking fluent Bajo if the 'social climate' is predominately Bajo. As one informant of Bugis descent in Apa Tana put it, "When sailing together with or meeting other Bajo on sea, I do speak Bajo, so I'm Bajo too", a point which is stressed by Lehnhart (1991) and Tauchmann (1994): "Their intelligible world is shaped as a social space category. Wherever you meet another maritime nomad, communication creates and constitutes space of their kind"¹⁴. Here language seems to be the main factor; on the reverse, in a story about exploits of the pearl divers from Polong who generally do not speak Bajo anymore, they called themselves "orang Selayar" or even "anak Selayar" to distinguish between the Bajo inhabitants of the Banggai archipelago and themselves.

While many informants still hold on to an idealistic picture of the historic Bajo living on boats inhabited by the whole family¹⁵, today especially younger females are not at all versed in sailing and sometimes vividly assert fear of living on boats or sailing for long distances. The boat used as a research basis, a *sandeq*-outrigger craft which is not common in Selayar, only in Apa Tana and Kayuadi caused curiosity between women who came to inspect it -by the way in quite professional fashion, giving special interest to rigging and workmanship-, and I saw only some elderly women using boats for small fishing ventures¹⁶. Instead, women recalled lots of taboos around domestic life which are to be followed while male members of the family are out on sea, including very 'homely' activities like searching for lice in someone's hair while sitting on the staircase leading up into a stilt house, sweeping the kitchen or cleaning the beds which only partly are shared with Selayar, Konjo or Bugis people, indicating that living in a house is and for a considerable time was not uncommon. Several reputedly 'genuine' *Lolo Bajo* informants differentiated between two social groups/levels of the Bajo, those who permanently lived on the sea called *Sama* or *Torijeqneq* (MAK: 'people on the water') and those who stayed behind on land, i.e. the *Lolo Bajo*, asserting that there are no *Sama* left in the area today. The first group frequently was designated as "budak" ('slaves') of the latter; one informant even maintained, that *Sama* venturing on land would be "cut

¹¹ Interviews in Benteng Jampea, May 1996

¹² There, though, seem to be examples of a yet contradictory development: K. Tauchmann reported of villages of mixed Bajo and Bugis populations where a definite, sometimes even fenced border is drawn between the Bugis and Bajo parts (pers. communication, 1995); I, however, did not find any sharp distinction between members of different ethnic groups in the villages which I visited up to now - see below.

¹³ Informants from Polong stressed, that the first Bajo 'settlers' three generations ago lived some miles more to the north near the northern cape of Selayar, but moved to Polong because of the great distance to the next source of drinking water (from Polong still about three km inland) and the high waves during the west Monsoon which made permanent landbased settlement and safe anchoring of boats impossible - in Polong a far reaching reef breaks the swell well before the shore. They maintained, that the landbased settlement of Polong was founded before Apa Tana after the boats used as abodes had broken up.

¹⁴ Tauchmann 1994 cf. Lehnhart 1991:94

¹⁵ E.g., interview with Condo, Kayu Pandah, July 1996: "Yah, memang, nenek-nenek dulu hidupnya di laut - kalau dia sandar di pulau, tidak bikin rumah, hanya sampan dia bikin rumah - selalu sakit kalau naik di daratan - [...] - dulu kan di pulau banyak juga rumah yang di air - pakai juga rumah tapi di air - tidak di perumahan begini".

¹⁶ An exception is Dongkalang, where women and girls are frequently seen rowing and sailing small dugouts for transporting goods or fishing in the narrow Strait of Padang.

to pieces'' by the *Lolo*¹⁷. Several informants recalled the *Lolo Bajo* sailing on boats showing *ula-ula* flags, which were accompanied by a fleet of the smaller boats of *Sama*¹⁸. The differences were made clear as follows:

''Itu *Lolo Bajo* [for sake of readability I in the following will omit the italics] nama kebudayaan, Mister, jadi nama umumnya *Same* [with a very pronounced 'pepet' -/e/; I will return to the linguistic differences between the various groups in the area under study in 3.2] - itu sudah Bajo semua termasuk cucunya semua atau anaknya Lolo Bajo, tapi nama umumnya itu *Same* - yah, jadi seperti di Gowa kita bilang *Same*, tentu orang Makassar tidak tahu, jadi kita bilang *Torijeqneq* [italics omitted in the following], karena orang Makassar namakan *Torijeqneq* itu orang Bajo, begitu - semuanya itu orang Bajo - cuma inilah, dari *ule-ule* [BAJ, Pulau Sembilan dialect: '*ula-ula* flag'; he pointed to the flag on the mast of the boat, his first question when he came on board] ini, kalau ini yang disebut *ule-ule*, misalnya, ini Lolo Bajo, ini berhak untuk memegang ini *ule-ule*, jadi kalau misalnya saya, toh, jadi *punggawa* [BAJ: title of nobility], tidak ada tanda berkaitan dengan Lolo Bajo, saya tidak boleh, tidak boleh menaikkan *ule-ule*, atau *gallaq* [BAJ: title of nobility] tidak ada kaitannya dari Lolo, tidak boleh, itu harus dulu dibunuh kalau melanggar aturan - dan memang ada itu hak Lolo Bajo, karena sejarahnya itu Lolo Bajo darahnya putih - kalau Mister mau gali, asalnya Lolo Bajo di situ, itu Bajo Cellu, Merak Cellu itu namanya, karena sekarang banyak Bajo sudah ada, di Kalimantan juga ada, di Sumatera juga ada, di Malaysia juga ada Bajo, tapi - yah, Bajo, katanya orang Sinjai di sini, Bajo-Bajo, cuma dia tahu bahasa Bajo bahwa saya Bajo - tapi Lolonya tidak ada - tapi kalau kita dia tanya, kamu dari mana, dia tak lengkap, tidak bisa cerita.''¹⁹

''Jadi tahu-tahu *Torijeqneq* tinggalnya memang di laut - pakai lepa-lepa, istilah *lepah* - tapi suku Bajo inilah yang merupakan bangsawannya daripada *Torijeqneq* - dan juga itu Lolo Bajo putih-putih bersih, tinggal di darat - kalau *Torijeqneq* itu hitam - jadi Lolo Bajo itu sering-sering juga ke laut untuk nelayan - tapi bukan itu pencarian aslinya - [...] - tapi namun mereka turun di laut, tetap bersih, putih - bahasanya sama, tapi ada perbedaan, kalau *Torijeqneq*, artinya 'bagus', *malasso*, tapi kalau Bajo itu bukan *malasso*, *maqtaqdaq*, kalau suku *Torijeqneq*, *keo nipore*, kalau suku Bajo bukan begitu, luh, berarti 'jauh' - suku *Torijeqneq* kalau 'mati', *mataine*, tapi suku Bajo, *malaenan* - [...] itu bahasa Bajo dengan bahasa *Torijeqneq* itu banyak yang sama, cuma yang sedikit yang halus itu perbedaan - jadi itu ada kelainan sedikit itu *Torijeqneq* dan Lolo Bajo, jadi orang *Torijeqneq* itu ada artinya orang *Sama* - [...] - jadi itu di Calloh sampai sekarang di daerah Luwuq, kalau ada masuk di sana yang mengatakan saya adalah suku Bajo diperiksa celananya itu - kalau pengikatnya bukan tali *bagu* [BUG - unid.] dikatakan tidak syah, tidak benar - sampai sekarang itu adatnya - ada itu anuh itu, yang istilahnya *tulu bagu* itu dari kulit kayu - jadi ini merupakan tanda bahwa benar-benar Lolo Bajo.''²⁰

As stated, besides knowledge about the story of origin and/or ownership of a *lontaraq* containing the genealogy of the family, the *ula-ula* flags play an important role in defining noble descent and/or function in Bajo communities, different colours and forms obviously marking the status of the owner²¹. In nearly every village visited there was said to be or to have been *ula-ula* flags - I will give some informations and descriptions of flags obtained from informants in 3.2. However, the only flag seen was the one of the *Lolo* family of Kayuadi (comp. fn. 28).

2

The Stories

The following four stories had been collected during several jaunts to Selayar between March-July 1996. They were told as replies on my questioning about the tale about the origin of the Bajo people; for two recordings, i.e. the one in Jampea and the one in Kayuadi, the informants had made special arrangements. Three of the informants (in Jampea, Kayuadi and Ara) stressed, that the story is contained in *lontaraq* which include the genealogy of their resp. families, and that their rendering of it quite probably is incomplete. However, the manuscripts proved to be not available at the moment of the interview - see the introductory remarks to the interviews.

None of the informants claimed to be a professional story-teller; instead, on Jampea an elderly lady was mentioned who could recite the story in form of a traditional poem called *iko-iko* - she, however, was at that moment visiting family

¹⁷ Interview with Usman Tawang, Benteng Jampea, June 1996; compare with the thread of the Bajo king in the version of the story of origin from Kayuadi.

¹⁸ Usually in connection with flitting from island to island and not for fishing ventures; in Polong informants even had it, that the Lolo went for ''piknik di Seram''.

¹⁹ Interview with Puang Made, Kanalo, Jan. 1996; for orthographics used in transcripts compare 4.3.

²⁰ Interview with Usman Tawang, Benteng Jampea, June 1996; Tahir (1978:80) states that ''hanyalah golongan raja/bangsawan dipandang adalah keturunan Bajo asli (*Same* asli) sedangkan golongan orang biasa dipandang pada umumnya sebagai peranakan Bajo (*Same Paranakang*) dan golongan budak dipandang bukan keturunan Bajo melainkan budak belian yang berasal dari Muna dibeli oleh bangsawan''.

²¹ Showing these flags, for example, plays an important role in life-cycle rites for nobility: See, e.g., Soesangobeng 1977:38ff, 73 or Dahlan Sawe 1978:27ff

members in Taka Bonerate. Other story-tellers mentioned at other places proved to have died recently, and younger informants declared, that they had not been interested enough in the story to learn it by heart.

2.1 Jampea Version

The version from Jampea was told by Usman Tawang, 63 years, of Kota Benteng. The informant stressed, that his account is a short version of a manuscript in his possession which had been rewritten after a lost *lontaraq*²²; however, the rewritten version in *lontaraq*-script was not shown, but only a summary version in hand-written latin letters. A transcript of the interview is found in 4.3.1.

The narration started with the vanishing of the royal umbrella of the state of Gowa and the order of the Karaeng to search for it. The umbrella at last is found in between the belongings of a beautiful girl in Luwuq in a village called Calloh near a place called Bulu Puloe. The girl herself, named Caddiq-Caddiq Yamiq²³, had been found together with a wooden chest in which was the umbrella in a *sampan* which had been drifted into a line of fishing stakes; her origin was mentioned as Malengkeri Lambata, and she had been blown out to sea by a violent storm. Her language was indistinguishable to the fisherman who found and adopted her. After the news of the refound umbrella arrives in Gowa, the King orders that the girl together with her foster parents should be taken to Gowa, where they marry.

Caddiq-Caddiq Yamiq gives birth to a child; the King does not understand her language, though. The girls of Gowa which walk along the house of the King sing a *kelong*-song which makes Caddiq-Caddiq Yamiq angry, so that she on the third occasion answers with an own rhyme²⁴. Here the informant inserted, that one of the descendants of the marriage of Caddiq-Caddiq Yamiq with the King of Gowa was Rommeng, the *Lolo Bajo* who first came to Jampea²⁵ and elaborated about the fights with the Seram people who ruled the island at that time.

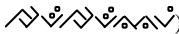
One day the King decides to sail for a picnic (MAK, SEL *nganre-nganre*: 'eat-eat') to a place called Sanrang Bone in a boat called *Lambere Bajo*²⁶. As the boat cannot be pushed to the sea, it is decided to call Caddiq-Caddiq Yamiq for help; when she touches the stern of the boat and chants a *kelong*, the boat "jumps" into the sea by itself. After the boat has left she recites another *kelong*²⁷.

Asked about the story of Sawerigadings boat and it's relation to the Bajo (something of importance in the other versions), the informant maintained, that he knew the story about the twins, that the girl was raised by her uncle who later on rejected to the marriage and pointed out a tree to be felled for building a boat. He related, that the blood of 40 girls was necessary to cut the tree. However, he did not mention anything which might show connections between the story of Sawerigadings voyage to Cina and the Bajo; as the pronounced topic of the whole interview was the quest for an explanation of the origin of the Bajo, I feel that he would have tried to point out links if he had thought them to be admissible. Moreover, when the conversation went to other versions of the story or *lontaraq* containing it, he insisted that the *lontaraq* of Puang Mappede of which he had knowledge by Mappede's stay on Jampea (see 2.4) is "tidak cocok" - although he admitted his relationship with that family.

2.2 Version from Kayuadi

The Kayuadi version was related by Lepo, about 70 years, reputedly male head of the *Lolo* family of Kayuadi. The story was recorded on an evening occasion specially arranged by the family to record the "Story of the Origin of the Bajo", attended by several other senior members of the family. The informant stressed, that he had learned the story from his

²² The original got lost in the second world war during an allied air attack on a Japanese ship lying in the harbour off the island of Katelang: After the frightened inhabitants came back to their houses, all *lontaraq* in possession of his family had vanished, presumably stolen.

²³ MAK *caddiq*: 'small'; a spelling *caddiq-caddiamiq* (in *lontaraq* possibly written as ) would mean 'of medium smallness'

²⁴ The informant gave the following version: "Kontu jukku andangan, manyareqna mapalanra, anak bayoa niagamma juru tope" answered by "Teako jari bajoku, naikna battu ri jeqneq, niapi Bajo, niapi Somba ri Gowa". As this and the other *kelong* in the stories are of some importance, the list in 4.3.3 compares the *kelong* mentioned by my informants.

²⁵ I will return to the genealogy of the *punggawa* of Jampea in 3.2.

²⁶ *Lambere* designates a type of fast sailing boat whith long waterline and length/breadth ratio of less than 3.5:1 (information by master boatbuilders from Lemo-Lemo)

²⁷ The two *kelongs* had been cited by the informant as follows: "Sorongmi lambere bayo, lampa naung ri Segeri, maressa-maressa ri bawana Sanrang Bone" and "Lampami Lambere Bajo, rua lalang paggayunna, ri lalang daeng, ri lalang anak pattola" - see fn. 24 and 4.3.3

father, but that there is a *lontaraq* which should contain the narrative written on leaves in golden letters; however, the manuscript had been taken to Salamung near Kupang by his brother. To consult it, one has to take along the original *ula-ula* of the family as a sign. During the narrating some points of the story got mixed up (e.g., the fact that the twin-sister suggests the tree because in Cina there is a girl which can replace her), but were apparently obvious to the listeners, so that I feel it reasonable to arrange them in a more logic order in the following; a transcript of the recording is found in 4.3.2. After the story had been told, the *ula-ula* of the family and a bundle containing some “*peninggalan nenek*”²⁸ were shown; when everybody was examining these “*peninggalan*”, an old lady fell in trance, dramatically shouting under tears in Bajo, “Don't disturb my belongings”. At that moment I stopped interviewing in order not to cause further commotion.

The story begins with a pair of twins in *Luwuq* which is separated at the moment of birth. Grown up, the youngster (whose name is not remembered) joins for a cock fight under the house of his grandfather, of whom he, however, does not know. He finds a long hair hanging down from the floor of the house, assuming that there is a girl living in the house. Back at home he urges his mother to arrange a marriage; she refuses, explaining that the long hair belongs to his twin sister. The lad rejects her reasoning as he has never heard about a twin sister and persists, that the girl must be somebody else's daughter. As he does not stop pressing his mother, the girl at last is called to the house of her mother and introduced as the lost twin sister; though, the boy's love even increases. The girl refuses his wish to marry, explaining that she is his twin sister. She points out the daughter of the King of a country called Cina and a huge tree called *bulanreh* which would be enough to build seven boats. It proves impossible to fell the tree, as the bark turns into stone; the cleavers broken during the attempts form a small hill close to the tree. Returning from the forest, he presses again the girl to marry him because he cannot fell the tree. She, however, offers to help and surrounds the tree three times, after which it can be felled.

In the crown of the trees a huge number of birds nest, so that when falling down their eggs break, causing a flood out of which the river Palopo emerges. A Bajo girl called *Basse* (another unknown sister of the young man who sails to Cina) who is looking for tripang on the sea shore is drifted off in her sampan by the flood. The flood washes the sampan with the girl in between Kabaena and the Bugis countries, where the wind changes and drifts her through the Straits of Selayar to Gowa. The sampan strands in a row of fishing stakes. The owner of the fishing trap finds her and takes her home, but cannot grasp her language. After some time the King of Gowa hears about the girl and marries her to his son. Basse gives birth to a male child. While she is away for a moment, her husband soothes the crying baby by a *kelong*²⁹; the mother hears it and feels insulted. After she is back looking for the baby and he below the house, she answers the *kelong* with an own rhyme³⁰. Hearing the rhyme of his wife, the King of Gowa knows that he had married a Bajo lady.

When she did not return home, the father of Basse who is the King of the Bajo, orders his folk to go and look for her; if she cannot be found, he will cut them all into pieces as fine as sand. The Bajo disperse all over the islands but cannot find the girl. Facing the vow of the king to cut them into pieces, they do not dare to return. News arrive, that Basse is in Gowa married to the King's son; her parents decide to move to Gowa.

Meanwhile seven boats had been built in Luwuq, one of them called *Saberigading*³¹. The boat *Saberigading*, manned with Bajo, sets sail for Cina; however, when waiting for a good wind at a place called Padang Aceh in Sumatera, the boat turns to stone in the anchorage. Of the fate of the other six boats nothing is known.

2.3 Version from Apa Tana

This version, told by Umbo Kulle, about 60 years, was related in between a story of the reason for a recent Bajo migration from Bone to which I will return in 3.2. The story was told in two very short fragments only; I however, include it here

²⁸ The *ula-ula* is coloured red, made out of coarse cloth named “*kaing kassa eja*” (MAK) which partly fell apart; breadth on top about 40cm, length could not be measured as the flag was folded and the cloth seemed to old to be opened without ripping it, but guessed about 5-6m; on front of broad top part two seahorse-like animals, white, red eyes, blue decorations, called “*naga*”, and a white semicircle rimmed by a blue piece of cloth, explained as “*bulan berlindung di awan*”; left and right two “*tangan*” of about 1,5-2m by 7-10cm; the flag had been “renewed”, “copied”, as the original proved to old for use in ceremonies; one copy is in Rajuni, the other one stayed with the family in Kayuadi; copied flag is about 4m long, shows male genitals and legs; as well as on the original there is no “*kepala*” (I will return to this in 3.2). The bundle contained an old sarung, several small boxes made out of leaves, some betel leaves, some maize-leave cigarets with rests of tobacco inside, an egg (!), three small hand fans made out of cardboard and a piece of coloured string woven into a thick tassel, probably used for chasing flies.

²⁹ *Auleq jukku andangang, manyereq namapalanna, anak bajoa niagamma julu topi* - for a translation see 4.3.3

³⁰ *Teako cali bajoa, caqcaraq torijeqneqna, niapi Bajo, nania somba ri Gowa*. The informant added at this stages two other *kelong*- see 4.3.2 and 4.3.3

³¹ The informant gave several names for the boat: *Saberigadeh, Saberigading, Sabergading, Sehergading* - see 4.3.2

because of the motive of a girl found in a bamboo, which is unique to this story only. The informants gave no placenames except some locations connected with Sawerigadings sunken boat.

When the tree for the boat of Sawerigading is felled, the breaking eggs of the birds nesting in the tree cause a flood which drifts a bamboo into a line of fishing sticks. The owner of the fishing trap throws the bamboo repeatedly back into the sea; as the same bamboo is found again and again, he at last decides to take it onto shore. When he splits it open, a beautiful girl is found inside. The news about the girl are heard in Gowa; the King of Gowa marries the girl. Their offspring become the Bajo. Sawerigadings boat sinks in the Straits of Selayar, where parts of the wreck are still to be seen at Pamatata; the white water caused by currents in the strait is said to be the water used for washing the rice on board.

Another flood and a storm in Luwuq drift away the daughter of the Bajo king while playing on the shore. The Bajo people are ordered to search for her and not to return if they cannot find her; so they disperse all around the islands.

The informant made no attempt to combine the two fragments, but maintained, that the unknown origin of the girl proves the fact, that the Bajo do not descent from normal man (''tidak diperanakan dengan manusia’’).

2.4

Oral Version of Lontaraq of Ara

By questioning I was able to trace the odyssey of one of the *lontaraq*: Informants from Kanalo and Kambune in Pulau Sembilan gave hints, that during the Darul Islam revolution the *lontaraq* of their family had been taken to Pulau Bembe near Jampea by it's owner, where other informants mentioned a person now living in Labuang Mangatti, Jampea mainland, who "for sure" kept it in his house after the original owner died. This last person pointed back to Ara, where now lives the offspring of the mentioned original owner. However, arriving in Ara I was told that the *lontaraq* recently had been taken to Labuan Bajo in Flores to prove the noble blood of a member of the family who felt offended by the local Bajo. However, Bp. Johari, son of a famous Bajo trader by the name of Puang Mapped who owned the mentioned *lontaraq* volunteered to tell what he knew from reading the manuscript.

The *lontaraq* is said to be about 1mx1m, written on leaves in gold script, and contains the genealogy of Puang Mapped's family as well as parts of the genealogy of the kingdoms of Bone and Gowa. Following the informant in Labuang Mangatti, the manuscript is set up in a circle with the royal lines of Gowa, Bone and Luwuq on the rim, and that of the *Lolo Bajo* in the centre. I personally doubt, that a manuscript of this size which is said to contain the whole genealogy of the Bajo tribes can besides hold the obviously quite long and detailed story of the origin (of which he anyway only told the part having to do with Sawerigading's boat and voyage), so there either must be additions on further pages or several *lontaraq*; however, as the informant in Ara proved to be very versed in the legends around his people, it - as with Usman Tawang from Benteng Jampea- is imaginable that he did put together several stories which he knew either by hear-say or from reading other *lontaraq*; however, he never lost the flow of the story and told it quite fluently.

This version too begins with Sawerigading's wish to marry his twin-sister called Abeng who had been raised by her uncle. Sawerigading comes to know about her because of a 7m long hair which he finds under the house; he by no means can be made believe, that she is his twin sister. Abeng herself -met by force- rejects Sawerigading's wish, but mentions We Cudai, her cousin (''sepupu sekali’’) in Cina. As there is no boat, Abeng points out a tall tree in the forest near Bulu Puloe. Sawerigading breaks forty axes, but the tree cannot be felled. Abeng advises him to sacrifice 44 virgins and 44 young men and soak the tree in their blood; this attempt fails, too. At last Abeng herself fells the tree by means of her weaving knife.

The tree sinks down into the sea; Sawerigading is disappointed and again presses Abeng to marry him. She refuses and tells him to wait for seven days. After the seven days seven complete boats including crew appear, and Sawerigading is asked to sail. As a sign Abeng presents him with a ring which will fit on We Cudai's finger. Sawerigading takes along the yellow *ula-ula* flag now in possession of the informants family. On the way the sail of Sawerigading's boat cuts all mangroves of Buton to the same height; Sawerigading seven times fights enemies on sea. Arriving at Cina, he by chance sees We Cudai on the veranda of her house; exchanging a short glance they directly fall in love. This short eye contact is enough for We Cudai to become pregnant.

For marrying We Cudai, Sawerigading is asked for a cock fight against her father's famous cock. As he did not take along his own fighting cock, he returns to Luwuq. Sawerigading's magic cock -a disguised cat- in one jump wins the fight, and the allowance to marry is obtained. After some time the couple decides to sail back to Luwuq. We Cudai, being

pregnant, wishes to eat a special manggo (*pau jengki*³²); they stop at Sumatera, where the magic cat-cock has to fetch it from the tree because the paddles of the prau cannot reach that high. The cat is ordered to stay in Sumatera to become king of the forest, the reason for the Bajo people's acquaintance with Sumatera's tigers³³.

Continuing the voyage home, the steersman by name of Baco Batah³⁴ falls asleep, so that the boat makes land at Bonerate. Setting course to the north, the boat strands on Selayar, where I La Galigo is born. At last they manage to sail on into the Bay of Bone, where We Cudai before arriving at Luwuq washes the bloodstained sarongs used during the birth of I La Galigo in the river of Jeque Majai ('Red Waters'). All-in-all she gives birth to three children.

When tumbling down, the tree had divided the hill of Bulu Puloe into two, and a flood was caused by the breaking eggs. A girl called Sitti Manurung was washed out to sea in her *sampan*, and at last drifted to Makassar where she married the King of Makassar. The informant did not elaborate on the events in Makassar; instead he claimed, that the crew of the boat were Bajo people, while the girl drifted onto sea by the flood of eggs became the first *Lolo Bajo*. He at first stated, that Sitti Manurung was the first child of Sawerigading and We Cudai which was born after that momentous first eye-contact, but after further questioning withdraw when he realised that this was not possible as the boat used to sail to Cina was still to be built. He maintained that precise information must be in the *lontaraq*, and mentioned one of Sitti Manurung's offspring by the name of Andi Mallaniu Pattarani. However, on a last piece of the *lontaraq* which still is in Ara there is said to be the sole name of Lamun (Lanun?)³⁵ Rirana, said to be the one who "melantik *Lolo Bajo* pertama".

A second informant produced an abbreviated genealogy of the family of Puang Mappede made by him in course of a research about history and social status in Ara conducted by Thomas Gibson during 1989³⁶. However, in the genealogy written on a torn piece of paper no clear distinction between sexes is made, and generally only one name of a couple is given, so it was necessary to decide the sex of the mentioned persons by their names only - on first glance it seemed quite obvious, that a mainly matrilineal order was followed. Here the first name mentioned is Karaeng Bonto Biraeng, who is said to have some obscure connections by intermarriage of several cousins to a person called To Ussuq (see below). Out of a marriage of To Ussuq a lady called Basse I Lolo Papu is born, who again gives birth to Dg. Maserang. Sarinah, child of Dg. Maserang, was too said to be born out of the spray of the sea. Her daughter Rukka was the one who decided to move onto the sea, while the other children chose to live on land. Next one in the line is Mallaniung Pattarani, followed by Mappede Dg. Silasa, the father of Johari.

3 Some Conclusions

As mentioned above, for the Bajo these stories function as a means of defining social positioning inside the group itself: Those who know about their descent, by it as obscure as this, can claim the rights and fame of *Lolo*. By connecting their history to the two best known kingdoms of South Sulawesi, Luwuq and Gowa, this is extended onto an inter-ethnic level: A people who presumably immigrated into Sulawesi "out of nothing" after the main ethnic groups of the peninsula had been well established quite probably felt the need to place themselves as favourable as possible into the political structure found at their arrival, which was arranged around lines of noble descent leading back to the mystical figures of the *To Manurung*, "those who descended from the heavens"³⁷. With these stories, the Bajo even go a bit further than could be expected: They manage not only to claim a close relationship to the kingdom of Gowa, but moreover relate themselves to

³² Following the summary of the La Galigo version by Arung Pancana, BUG *pau jengki* is a giant tree "yang berakar di Dunai Bawah dan tumbuh sampai ke langit" (Toa et.al. 1995:25) which Sawerigading encountered on his first expedition to the underworld done before the famous voyage to Cina; concerning the geographical knowledge deductable from the I La Galigo Pelras (1996:75) explains: "In the far west lay the island of the 'Pao Jengki' (the 'mango tree from Jengki'). The Bugis name 'Jengki', like the Javanese and Malay 'Janggi' corresponds to the Arabic 'Zanj', which points to the lands west of the Indian Ocean. This giant tree is said to be full of gigantic beings and to reach the sky; stones supposed to come from ist giant fruit are still kept as betel boxes and prized as treasures by princely Bugis families. They are in fact shells from the Seychelles double coconut, which grows only in the small island of Praslin and is thus indeed a product of Zanj."

³³ The informant inserted a story of a visit to Sumatera, where he managed to stop a tiger by mentioning Sawerigading's cat.

³⁴ Nurhayati (1993:58) in her list of Sawerigading's crew does not mention this name.

³⁵ *Lanun*, if understood as denoting ethnic membership, might refer to the Seram pirates; a listening mistake could be possible, as the piece of *lontaraq* was not shown to me. It will be pointed out, that there is a good possibility for Seram people to have close connection with the Bajo of the area.

³⁶ As the next photocopy machine is in Bulukumba and I was forced to leave the next day for Ujung Pandang, I could not ask to borrow the paper to make a copy.

³⁷ About the importance of the *To Manurung* concept in South Sulawesi state structure see e.g. Mukhlis und., 1993

the famous figure of Sawerigading, whose association to the royal genealogies of South Sulawesi (except Luwuq) is obscured by the circumstance, that he and the other members of the first house of rulers of Luwuq return to the heavens from where their forbears once descended, leaving the population of the reign in a state of anarchy which only ends with the arrival of the *To Manurung*. As the motives taken out of the myths around Sawerigading (who sometimes even is said to be of Bajo origin or at least to have employed a Bajo crew)³⁸ which are found in the I La Galigo epos mainly revolve around the episode of the building of the boat used for the voyage and the voyage itself, it is quite obvious that the sea-orientated Bajo here tried to create social and historical ‘space of their kind’³⁹, i.e. a ‘sea-based’, non-terrestrial reasoning for their presence in South Sulawesi. This is further emphasised by the absence of references to sacred items like the *gaukeng* which in the Makassar and Bugis realms are perceived as token of rights on land and the associated social structures⁴⁰ - only in the version from Ara the *ula-ula* flag, Bajo symbol of the right to rule, is taken along on board of the ship sailing to Cina, while the other *gaukeng*-like item mentioned in the stories, i.e. the umbrella found with Caddiq-Caddiq Yamiq, professedly belongs to the King of Gowa.

Reasoned by this story, Bajo informants repeatedly pointed out special rights in their relations to the royal houses of Gowa and the Bugis kingdoms: Bajo, for example, are allowed to enter the palace of Gowa without asking for permission in wet sarongs only or cannot be hindered from taking along sand from the sacred sandpit of the Kingdom of Bone. On the reverse, several royal families of South Sulawesi claim relationship with the *Lolo Bajo*, and the Makassar *kelong* cited by the informants are well known and readily accepted by Makassar people, though there are minor differences in rendering and pronunciation. However, in the chronicle of the Kingdom of Gowa itself the royal line starts with the marriage of a female *To Manurung* with a certain Karaeng Bajo/Bayo, who together with his brother Laki Padada had come from an unknown place in the south⁴¹. In Selayar it even was said, that ‘‘an *Opu* (Selayar noble title) without Bajo blood in his veins is a deceiver’’⁴². Accordingly, some *lontaraq bilang* and *ula-ula* flags now are said to be in possession of Selayar nobles: The *lontaraq* of the *Lolo* of Guang for example is rumoured to be in the palace of Batangmata, and an *ula-ula* flag is shown on ceremonies of the *Opu* of Matalalang.

‘Defining status’ here does not only mean glorifying one’s own origin, but, too, belittle or even ridicule the origin of others. Johari, for example, wove into his story of Sawerigading’s voyage a most unfavourable tale about the origin of the *Opu* of Selayar: While waiting for the boat to be repaired after the stranding in Selayar, Sawerigading urinates onto a stone; the urine is licked up by a pig which in course gives birth to the first *Opu* of Selayar. Even between the *Lolo* themselves rivalry about the ‘true story’ is felt: As cited, Usman Tawang rejected the version of the story contained in the *lontaraq* of Puang Mapped; Johari stated, that Usman Tawang actually is not genuine Bajo, but that his mother had been born in Takalar.

3.1 Common Motives: Sawerigading and ‘the driven-off Princess’

Origin stories of various groups of sea-nomads found in the available literature⁴³ vary widely, but those associated with maritime nomads living east to a proposed line between Sarawak and Java generally contain one common motive, i.e. dispersal caused by leaving an ancient dwelling which is located in a land of some reputation. In the better part of the stories this is associated with a girl of noble blood who is said to be a princess of the Kingdom of Johor or the daughter of a ruler of the ancestors of the sea-nomads. In some of the stories she is driven onto sea by a storm or other more or less natural forces, in others she is kidnapped by force; commonly the sea-nomads who are her escort or who are ordered to search for her did not return to that place of origin out of fear facing the father of the girl.

³⁸ In a very fragmented rendering of the story and the genealogy of the *Lolo Bajo* told at Kanalo the informant managed to include Arung Palakka, Sultan Hasanuddin, Puang Janggoq (a character of some importance for the history of Bira) and several other famous historic figures. I, however, at that occasion was not all prepared for recording or noting down what was told; the informant anyway pointed to Johari as the owner of the *lontaraq* which he claimed as his source.

³⁹ Tauchmann 1994:2

⁴⁰ See, e.g., Mukhlis 1993:18: ‘‘Para bangsawan sebagai pemilik tanah [...] pada umumnya memiliki *gaukeng*, benda yang erat hubungannya dengan tanah, karena tempat ditemukannya *gaukeng* selalu dianggap sebagai *posi tana* (‘pusat tanah’). *Posi tana* selalu menjadi daerah atau kawasan inti dari satu komunitas. Pemegang *gaukeng* dianggap sebagai wakil yang menerima kekuasaan oleh kekuasaan supernatural yang dianggap sebagai pengawas tanah dan pemerintahan atas komunitas yang terpaut pada *gaukeng* itu.’’

⁴¹ Patunru 1967:3-4 cited in Soesangobeng 1977:5; Mukhlis und.:1 has Karaeng Bajo originating from Bantaeng

⁴² Interview with Andi Fatimah, Ibu Dusun Kayu Pandah, May 1996

⁴³ South and South-East Sulawesi: Soesangobeng 1977:42ff, 70-1, 78, repeated in Tahir et.al. 1978, Abu Hamid et.al. 1986; Dahlan Sawe 1985:15ff; Sopher 1965/77: 158ff, 345ff, 406; others: Sopher 1965/77:63ff, 124-5, 141-2, 345ff; Yap 1993:5-8

Though divergent in setting and details, the stories collected around Selayar, too, evolve around this motive. Moreover, in all stories the girl at last is married to a King (or his son) of Gowa; the offspring of this marriage become the *Lolo Bajo*. In a version of the story collected by Soesangobeng on the island of Spondak Mandarek near Kendari, Southeast Sulawesi, the girl after some years decides to leave Gowa and moves to Bone; in other versions found in the literature she leaves for an unknown destination - my informants, though, seemed to be contented with having her staying happily at Gowa. In the stories related in Apa Tana and Kayuadi the Bajo are ordered to search for the lost girl by her father; in the other two versions the informants only referred to the genealogy of the *Lolo*, so that a reason for the dispersal of this group of probably 'common' Bajo apparently did not matter. However, none of my Selayar informants mentioned Johor as place of origin of the girl in his account of the story, but instead they always located it around Luwuq⁴⁴.

A detail common to the stories from Selayar is the row of fishing stakes (Indonesian as well as SEL, MAK *sero*) into which the *sampan* or bamboo with the girl is drifted. One of Soesangobeng's informants mentions the same motive, while in another version the girl demands a reception in official custom. However, the location of the *sero* differs: While Usman Tawang sees it at Calloh "in Luwuq", the other informants place it into the vicinity of Gowa. 'Calloh' -or the 'Bajo/Meraq Cellu' mentioned by the informant from Kanalo (see interview cited in 1)- quite probably refers to the nowadays Bugis village of Cellu to the west of Bajoe near the city of Watampone (Bone): Soesangobeng (1977:19) states, that the Bajo inhabitants of the harbour area of Bone left "around 1825" (the date of the Dutch attack on the harbour of Bone known as the First Bone War - comp. 3.2) to open a new village in Lasareng (about 25km to the south of Bajoe for this and the following see map 4.2.2), some of them returning to the vicinity of Cellu where they believed to have lived before after the village in Lasareng was attacked by Darul Islam forces. Arriving in Bone, they had to realise that meanwhile sedimentation had moved the shoreline; in contradiction to the black and muddy new shore, the old location, now farmland, consisted out of red soil, *tana mirak* in Bajo. Dahlan Sawe (1986:19-21) in a somewhat confusing way explains, that the first Bajo on arrival at Bone established a permanent mooring off the village of Cellu, and were ordered by the King of Bone to move to Bajoe to defend the harbour area after sedimentation moved the shoreline to the east⁴⁵. The ongoing sedimentation is rendered by the informant from Kanalo by locating Meraq Cellu "about six kilometres inland" from the modern settlement.

However, the name Bulu Puloe given by Usman Tawang as well as Johari (quite probably the Bulu Appoq of Soesangobeng's informant from Kolaka) could be associated to the small islands off the entrance to the river of Cerekang near Malili. In this respect Usman Tawang's version having the girl set adrift from a place named Malengkeri Lambata without the interference of the flood caused by the falling tree reminds of one of the accounts rendered by Dahlan Sawe, where a daughter of the King of Johor is found in Luwuq and the Bajo after their arrival there in search of the princess settle at the estuary of the Cerekang river. In the latter version the flood caused by the felling of the tree for Sawerigading's boat drifts the Bajo folk off to Malili (though very close to the river nowadays called Cerekang - see map 4.2.2), where later on another girl by the name of Puteri Papu (compare to the Basse I Lolo Papu in the ambiguous bit of a genealogy obtained in Ara and the Basse in the story from Kayuadi) is driven out to sea again, causing the whole Bajo population to leave in search for her. Another place repeatedly mentioned by informants of Soesangobeng is 'Usuk' (again near today's Malili), variably said to be the place where Sawerigading felled the tree or the original location of the Bajo people. My informant in Kanalo rendered this placename as 'Wosug', explaining that the Bajo derived from there before they moved to Meraq Cellu though he during the interview made no attempt to connect this place with Sawerigading's boat. There, however, is a mountain which is associated with the first descendents of the Gods on Earth by the adherents of the *Tolotang* religion near today's village of Ussu in the vicinity of Malili⁴⁶; in the short genealogy from Ara a certain To Ussug, 'person

⁴⁴ A yet other version of the story recorded by the author in 1994 during an interview with a *Lolo* from SE-Sulawesi met in Jakarta which revolved around the Johor-motive was readily accepted when replayed to people of Apa Tana in 1995.

⁴⁵ In this account Lasareng is settled "setelah terjadi penembakan terhadap [seorang] *Lolo* yang bergelar Kapiten Sala Bangka oleh tentara Jepang" (Dahlan Sawe 1986:21).

⁴⁶ See, e.g., Mukhlis 1989, 1991; information about the mountain given by Sirtjo Koolhof, pers. comm. 1996. Pelras (1996:59) explicates: "[...] the sacred hill called Pungsi Mewuni, situated in Ussu' at the head of the Gulf of Bone between the Cerekang river and an equally sacred stream called Wae Mami, where Batara Guru, the founder of the Luwu' dynasty, is said to have descended from heaven. This hill is guarded by a very exclusive and impenetrable mystic community of about forty families. Bugis speakers in an environment of Mori speakers, they form the nucleus of a network of adepts called Tossu' (from *to-Ussu*, 'Ussu' people') scattered all over Luwu'. Around the hill, and around the bay of Ussu', are several places associated with various La Galigo episodes [...] or related to the felling of the giant Welenreng tree. [...] According to oral tradition, Batara Guru's palace used to stand on top of the hill, which only adepts of the higher degrees are permitted to climb."

from Ussuq', is mentioned as a parent of Basse I Lolo Papu. Yet it is around these places where the town of Wareq, the capital of ancient Luwuq is thought to have been situated.

Sawerigading as the perhaps most famous figure of the I La Galigo epos and his famed voyage to Cina play a role in many a folk tale around Sulawesi - see, e.g., one of the papers to be presented at this conference. In South Sulawesi folklore and believes he is given manifold roles, all of which are exploited to explain and justify unusual circumstances: There for example even exist stories of Sawerigading discussing with the Prophet Mohammed about religion, Sawerigading leaving a hand print on the Ka'aba in Mekkah⁴⁷ or Sawerigading being reincarnated in the person of the Prophet after his and his followers descend to the underworld at the end of divine rule in Luwuq⁴⁸ - as Mukhlis (1991) explained, a reaction on the introduction of the novel religion of Islam. "Ketika spiritual mereka [the inventors of and believers in these stories] memasuki dunia yang semakin kompleks, maka ritual dan mitologi pun turut berkembang [...dan...] terasa keperluan adanya mitos-mitos aktual yang sesuai dengan kebutuhan [pada] ketika itu".

Comparison of the versions of the story which associate Bajo dispersal with the felling of the tree used for Sawerigading's boat recorded by the author as well as those found in the literature shows, that the tale related by Johari of Ara gives the most detailed account of the events and names which are found, too, in the La Galigo original⁴⁹. As this version was related by someone who had read it's *lontaraq* original, it may be assumed, that the author of that *lontaraq* itself had access to a version of this episode of the I La Galigo. However, in most stories it actually is not Sawerigading's voyage and it's background which are important for the dispersal of the Bajo, but the flood caused by the breaking of the eggs found in the *welenreng*-tree⁵⁰. Here we find an ongoing fragmentation and confusion of motives: While in Dahlan Sawe's most elaborated account mentioned above the flood of eggs is reason to only one of three migrations (Johor to Cerekang in search for a driven-off princess, Cerekang to Malili by the flood, Malili to Gowa via Pulau Sembilan and Tana Keke in search of a second princess), Soesangobeng's and my informants see only one girl set adrift and have the Bajo, beforehand settled at some place in Luwuq, swarming out in chase. The version of the *Lolo* of Kayuadi with the boat by the name of Saberigading only retains one motive of the original tale, i.e. the long hair of the unknown twin-sister found during the cock-fight (which however, I can only prove again in Johari's rendering), but adds a corrupted rendering of the Malingkundang story from the Minangkabau lands. Another motive common to the I La Galigo epos as well as the *To Manurung* myths, i.e. a bamboo which contains seedlings from the heavens, is mentioned in the version from Apa Tana, reputedly the proof for an unknown, 'non-human' origin of the first Bajo - this possibly is echoed in the name Sitti Manurung given by Johari of Ara. Where ever possible, my informants obviously tried to stress role and relationship of the Bajo in/to the events of mystical history in which the tale takes place: The Bajo princess is a yet other unknown sister of Sawerigading, Sawerigading's boat is manned by Bajo and displays an *ula-ula*. On the reverse, Nurhayati (1993:58) mentions in between the titles bestowed onto Sawerigading in a Bugis *lontaraq*-version of the voyage the name 'La Datu Lolo' - if we drop of the Bugis gender marker 'La', we are left with a genuine Bajo noble title.

The fragmentation of the tale is shown too in differences between the *kelong* which are woven into the story. 4.3.3 gives a list of some of the variants found in different renderings of the story; the ten *kelong* recited by a member of a *Lolo*-family from Rajuni were given even without relating them to the story, but explained as usually being recited on wedding celebrations of the *Lolo* of his island. Soesangobeng (1977:43, 44) stresses, that his informants from Bajoe (where Bugis and Bajo are used as languages of intercourse) could not give a translation of the *kelong* mentioned in their versions, but only rendered that "Bajo and Gowan *adat* have to be honoured in the same way". While in all places visited by the present author the Bajo are fluent enough in Selayar, a language closely related to Makassar, Rajuni is populated by mainly Bajo and Bugis, a circumstance which can explain the wrong spellings of the Makassar; though, when the *kelong* from Rajuni were written down, the informant corrected the spelling according to his knowledge while onlookers which were fluent in the language of Selayar directly translated and discussed the content, so that the question for the grade of comprehension of he original informant was senseless.

⁴⁷ Mukhlis 1991

⁴⁸ Related by S.Koolhof after stories of the *Tolotang* of Amparita, pers. comm. 1996

⁴⁹ There, however, is one motive which I believe to be to be a very 'Bajolike' idea: When sailing along the coasts of Kabaena and Muna the boom of Sawerigading's boat brushes the tops of the coastal mangroves, cutting them to the level heights still found today - the area since long was settled by Bajo from South Sulawesi.

⁵⁰ I will return to Usman Tawang's account in which Sawerigading is not at all mentioned in 3.2.

However, there still is one startling bit of information related by several informants in Kanalo and Apa Tana: If a Bajo boat on sea faces trouble which cannot be solved, the last means is a verse called 'Kadang Diu' which appeals for the help of a couple of *Lolo Bajo* which are said to have ruled over the whole area. The verse was translated into Indonesian as "Engkau nenekku yang tinggal di pulau ini, tolonglah anak-cucumu, selamatkan dalam perjalanan", the island mentioned named Tinombu near Kendari where their grave is said to be, and the couple named La Ijo and Serine, after they had been given "kekuasaan kepada Allah" changed into Syek Ali Muhammad Nurul and Syek Patimah⁵¹.

3.2 Speculating on the Migrations of the Bajo of the Gulf of Bone and Selayar: The Genealogies of Jampea and Rajuni and the Ula-Ula of Kayuadi

Migratory movements of a mobile people of sea-nomads in an island area like the Indonesian archipelago are difficult to trace, even more when we add the 'wanderlust' which Sopher finds to be a prominent characteristic of the Bajo and associated people: Vosmaer's description (1839:71ff) of the movements of the Bajo of Southeast Sulawesi may be taken as model for the perpetual mobility of the Bajo people in former times and the conditions reasoning new migrations. The echoes of movements in the early history of the Bajo in the Gulf of Bone found in the different versions of the tale of origin cited above show clearly the difficulties we face when interpreting the oral histories and myths in search for a historical outline of their migrations. Luckily Usman Twang of Jampea produced a hand-written dated list of the rulers of Katelang which starts with a certain Rommeng, reputedly a *Lolo Bajo* from Calloh who came to Jampea because 'he did not want to be commanded around'. The first date given during the interview, i.e. 1431 as the year when Rommeng 'found' the island, may be a reading mistake: In some *lontaraq* Arab figures are used, so that a badly written 7 could easily become a 4; however, the following dates seem to be reliable enough. As there is no photocopying machine on Jampea, I here reproduce the list following my notes:

Rulers of Jampea / Katelang:	Kadhi of Jampea:
1. Romming + Atika (both Bajo) 1763-1797 [holds title of <i>punggawa</i>]	1. H. Marsuki (<i>Lolo Bajo</i>) 1749-1808 [builds mosque on Katelang]
2. Salluna + Maemuna (both Bajo) 1797-1824 [holds title of <i>punggawa</i>]	2. Muhammad Kidi 1808-1855
3. Paqgama Dg. Pahallang + Saripa Rabia (Bira+Galesong) 1824-1851	
4. Sulamin + Sapia 1851-1864	3. H. Abdul Jawas 1855-1893
5. Jalaq + Haria 1864-1873	
6. Balumbang + Halipa 1873-1887	
7. Jammong + Rugaya 1887- 1913	4. Sonno (Grandfather of the informant) 1893-1933
8. Juma + Gung Nio (Selayar?)+Chinese) 1913-1917	
9. Mohtar + B. Dg. Sinara 1917-1951	5. Husaini Dg. Maremba 1933-1945
10. Muhammad Nur + [unreadable] 1951-1952	6. Makkasolang 1945-1958
11. Dg. Majora + Hayatung 1952-1963	

Besides the story about the origin of the Bajo, Usman Tawang during nearly one-and-a-half days of recorded interviewing produced a profusion of information concerning migrations, family relationships (partly taken out of genealogies found in the mentioned book) and lots of bits of historical and cultural annotations. In the following I will confirm myself to some of the data about genealogies and migration. When arriving at Jampea, Rommeng and his followers (the informant mentioned the names Saiye Abdul Azis and Tuan Renreng) faced the resistance of several "Kapten Seram"⁵² (mentioned names: Dolomang, Taranganu, Datu Ringgiq, Ali Aba), who each guarded a part of the island. After some fighting peace was concluded; some of the Ceram captains left, while the others entered a treaty with the Bajo. As a sign the blue *ula-ula* of Rommeng and the yellow flag of the Ceram captains were exchanged and combined: When Bajo intended to visit Ceram, they had to show the "yellow above the blue"⁵³, when Ceram people sailed to Jampea, the blue had to be on top. One of

⁵¹ Interview with Puang Made, Kanalo, Jan.1996

⁵² The 'Seram' or 'Ceram' here quite probably refers to a piratical people coming from Northern Maluku (comment by C. Pelras, December 1996); however, these people repeatedly were called 'Lanun', too, a name which denoted the pirates of the Sulu Archipelago but became a synonym for any kind of pirates - see below. Several placenames around Jampea -i.e., the Loboh Lanun (BAJ: 'Lanun Bay') on the island of Bembe- still echoe the presence of these priates.

⁵³ Out of the interview it is not clear, whether here two flags are made into one, or whether both flags had to be shown in the mentioned order.

Rommeng's three children, a girl called Jarimin, emigrated to Sumbawa, founding a new Bajo village at Bungeng. The Mandar *ula-ular* was explained by offspring of another line of the *Lolo* family: A Lady called Syaida Lilla Dg. Mamille emigrated to Mandar, taking along her Bajo *ula-ula*.

A village of some importance in the story of Rommeng's voyage to Jampea is Dongkalang on the island of Pasi off Benteng Selayar, where he is said to have stopped for some time before deciding to move further south. The local *Lolo Bajo* offspring claimed, that the Bajo people of Pulau Bembe and Labuang Mangatti are descendants of their family, and recalled fights with Seram pirates over the control of the Strait of Padang. However, their *lontaraq bilang* is said to have been taken away by Japanese during the Second World War, while the Bajo themselves burned the *ula-ula* of their family when the Japanese started searching for it. The informants in Dongkalang did not remember precise stories of origin, but related that they came from Bone and Luwuq to Dongkalang; the *kelong* of the story were directly accepted, though. In their tradition as well as in the stories related by Usman Tawang and informants from Labuang Mangatti the Bajo emigrated to Selayar and Jampea, because they did not "want to follow orders"; after the treaty with the Ceram people (named *Lanun*) mentioned above they had no further fighting, but "worked together". As cited above, informants from Polong (though confessing that they only since three generations lived at that place) remembered a motive of *Lolo* sailing for recreation (!) to Ceram with a *ula-ula* of blue colour set on board ship.

Remarkably the descendants of the *Lolo* from Dongkalang, Bembe, Labuang Mangatti and Jampea (Katelang) -though today speaking Selayar- recalled enough Bajo (which they called *Baong Bajo/Sama* instead of the *Bicare Bajo/Same* mentioned in the other villages visited) to compare it with the language used in other settlements of the area, showing that they prefer an /a/ instead of the pronounced 'pepet'-/e/ in final positions used by others (*muda* versus *mudeh* - 'cheap'; *mamiah* versus *mamieh* - 'to look for, to search'; *maega* versus *maege* - 'on the side'; *tikka* versus *tikke* - 'from'; *ngaroko kita* versus *ngaroko kite* - 'Please have a smoke (polite form)'; *dangai belina?* versus *dange beline?* - 'How much is the price?'), some lexical differences (*maningga aku nanummu boe inung* versus *maningge aku mamieh boe tawar* - 'Where can I look for drinking water?'; *paitu kita dutai ka ruma* versus *paitu teka ka ruma* - 'Please come into the house'; *paitu kita dutai ka bidoh* versus *paitu teka bidoh* - 'Please come on board ship') and a preference for not using nasalisation when affixing the directional *ma* (*madiata* versus *mandiata* - 'above'; *madiaq* versus *mandiaq* - 'below'; *mabuli* versus *mambuli* - 'behind')⁵⁴. However, in none of these villages the Bajo today form a majority of the population and readily admit, that they are "orang campuran" with relations to Selayar, Makassar and Bugis people who are said to have settled in their villages after the arrival of the Bajo.

The second genealogy mentioned in the headline, i.e. the 'royal line' of Rajuni, leads us back into a much more mystical explanation of history - though the genealogy originates from a much more recent time. It starts with a *To Manurung* (!) who descended from the heavens to Bajoe who lateron moved to the Taka Bonerate area by the name of Umbo Basar; he besides was given the titles of Karaeng Malili Alang, Karaeng Sagala, Karaeng Bajo and Karaeng Bongkasa Bombang and was said to have "returned to the heavens after his time was over" ("kembali ke langit ketika habis waktunya"). He was replaced by Lolo Serang Rajuni bearing the title of Sultan Arjuni II; the third Sultan Arjuni was mentioned under the name of Lolo Deceng Arjuni - his son by the name of Abdul Muin Dg. Masikki who still is alive took over the new title of Opu Kali Rajuni, the 'Kali' perhaps being the reason for bestowing him with the additional titles of 'Kiai Haji'. The family of Dg. Masikki today holds the yellow *ula-ula* which is said to be the sign of the rulers of the islands of Taka Bonerate (the colour yellow traditionally is associated with kingship all over the islands); he additionally mentioned several other *ula-ula* in possession of other "branches" of the family: The red one owned by the family of the *Panglima Bajo* which today is in Kayuadi, a black-white-blue one owned by the family of Haji Mahamu, two red-white flags of the family of Haji Lolo and three flags, respectively coloured white, black and yellow in possession of the family of Puang Baeda. The informant again related confrontations with people from Ceram over the domination of the islands of Kayuadi and Taka Bonerate which had been fought on the island of Kayu Bulah in the Taka Bonerate group.

However, Selayar people from the village of Bone Lambere on the northern tip of Kayuadi related, that their forbears came to the island on board of Bajo ships about four generations ago; as the island was in the hand of Ceram pirates (now named *Tobelo*⁵⁵), the Bajo fought the enemy on sea while they fought on land, thereby defining their resp. spheres of

⁵⁴ Preliminary results of word-list tests, Jan.-July 1996; samples from *Labuang Mangatti, Pulau Bembe, Dongkalang*, versus *Kanalo I in Pulau Sembilan, Kayu Pandah, Apa Tana, Kayuadi*

⁵⁵ A piratical tribe living on the island of Ceram and surroundings active all over the second halve of the last century up into modern times

influence for the times to come. They maintained, that the first Bajo settlement (still out on sea) was situated in a small bay close to the village, and that only some time later the Bajo moved to the other places inhabited by them today. The about ten houses in Bone Lambere which are said to be occupied by descendants of Bajo had been built shortly before the Second World War; the inhabitants, however, today speak nearly no Bajo anymore and have no *ula-ula*, but for ceremonial uses borrow the one of the Bajo village in the southern part of the island.

When shown the short genealogy of Rajuni, the *Lolo* family of Kayuadi claimed, that their *ula-ula* had been in the possession of a brother of Umbo Basar (who was said to have white blood, the sign of South Sulawesi's nobility) who came together with the latter from Bone, and that the 'head' of the flag was cut off because "the owner did not want to follow the Dutch". Other informants repeated, that the Bajo came to Taka Bonerate and Kayuadi from Bajoe as a consequence of confrontations with the Dutch. About the reasons for the Bajo's emigration from Bajoe Umbo Kulle of Apa Tana explained:

"Dulunya itu kata orang tua dari Bajoe, dari Bone - jadi waktunya berperang anu itu Bone dengan Belanda itu Belanda tidak mau mendarat - selamanya di kapal saja tembak - ini orang Bajo tidak sanggup melawan kalau begitu caranya - jadi dia berenang ke kapal, anunya pasukan Bone itu - tiba di kapal, dia kepalanya dipotong dengan peledang, jadi sisanya itu lari ke laut, tidak mau mendarat itu, hidup di laut terus - belum ke sini, tetapi waktunya dulu anu, itu yang dinamakan bajak laut, pemberani sekali itu, siapa saja yang lewat dia anu, hantam itu anunya, yang sisanya tentara yang lari itu - di situ lah mencari kehidupan di laut, jadi tidak mau mendarat, jadi dulunya itu waktunya anu sudah anu itu Belanda [started to rule over Selayar], sudah masuk di Padang itu [the Bajo people], di Dongkalang, tapi tidak pakai rumah, tapi tinggal di perahu, baru kemari [Apa Tana]."

The year 1825 given by Soesangobeng as the date when the Bajo left their settlement in Cellu seems to me to be too early to be combined with these fragments of memory of concrete historic events: At best, four generations could cover a time span of about 140 years (35 years/generation), which would place the mentioned events well into the second half of the last century, so that we are left with the two following Dutch attacks on Bone in 1859 and 1905. However, I believe the motive of the beheading of Bajo by attacking Dutch colonial troops to be a memory of some actual incident - a cataclysm as this would be most terrifying for the Bajo people and obviously proved to be worth to be remembered in stories. Crosschecking with data found in Dutch reports about the fighting in Bone might confirm this assumption.

Informants as well as the consulted literature stress the long relationship of the Bajo as naval force of the Kings of Bone, the last of the powerful Sulawesian kingdoms. Abu Hamid (1986:10) claims, that a Bajo village on land (!) near Bone was mentioned in the last decades of the 18th century, and in Hafid et.al. (1996:16-7) it is assumed, that the Bajo settlement in the area of Bone must have been "quite large"; an informant from Pulau Sembilan stated, that "formerly, under the rule of the King of Bone, everything away more than forty-four armspans from the shoreline was our's; be it man, we could sell them like fish if we caught them afloat on sea" and remembered at least three different titles of nobles which had the right to use a *ula-ula* (*lolo*, *punggawa*, *gallaq*)⁵⁶: We could imagine the existence of a well organised Bajo 'sub-state' in this area in the last century, incorporating different administrative levels and functions which were represented by ownership of *ula-ula* flags. Tahir (1978:47) and Soesangobeng (1977:39-41, 72-3) describe the *ula-ula* seen at Bajoe and Spondak Mandarek, complete with a head and -in the case of Bajoe- coloured white-red. This last *ula-ula* is mentioned as being of female gender; the black and white male one now additionally found in Bajoe being made in 1977 after the head of the Bajo population of the village "memperoleh ilham melalui mimpi untuk membuat *ula-ula* jenis laki-laki" - quite probably he thought it not to be sufficient to have a female one only. As described above, at least the flag of Kayuadi is of male gender, and I would like to assume, that this could be one of the lost 'spouses' of the flag of Bajoe which had been taken to Taka Bonerate by Bajo groups fleeing the Dutch pressure.

The lost *ula-ula* of Polong was remembered as being of blue colour with a kind of bird on it, reminding of the *ula-ula* mentioned in Jampea. The differences in language and the fact, that Usman Tawang of Jampea did not place his Calloh in Bone, but in Luwuq and made no effort to combine his story with the Sawerigading-motive found in all other versions makes it possible to suppose membership to a different group of Bajo which came to Jampea via the west coasts of Selayar before a second movement to Kayuadi and Taka Bonerate took place, perhaps not moving along the western shores of Selayar proper along the line of Bajo villages which already had been established but sailing directly from Pulau Sembilan, as today's Bajo fishermen from Kanalo and Kambuno are used to do following a well fixed star-course - we, however, should allow a good deal of intermingling between the different groups after and perhaps even before their resp. arrivals.

⁵⁶ Interview with Puang Made, Kanalo, Jan.1996

Moreover, while the Bajo of Jampea and Dongkalang at last were in peace with the people of Ceram (which in their stories are called 'Lanun'), those of Kayuadi and Taka Bonerate again fought 'Tobelo' of Ceram origin in the area which they settled. The Bajo are often associated with pirates, and several informants claimed, that the name Bajo actually is a rendering of the Indonesian "Bajak Laut" - see the explanation of Umbo Kulle cited above. If the rendering 'Lamun Rirana' of the name reported to be written on the short piece of *lontaraq* still in Ara really is a hearing mistake for a 'Lanun Rirana', this would open some yet unconsidered aspects of the Bajo history of the area: He is the one who inaugurated the first *Lolo Bajo* at least of a family of *Lolo* of Ara and Pulau Sembilan, thereby giving them the right to use an *ula-ula*, which in Ara was said to be coloured black, yellow and green.

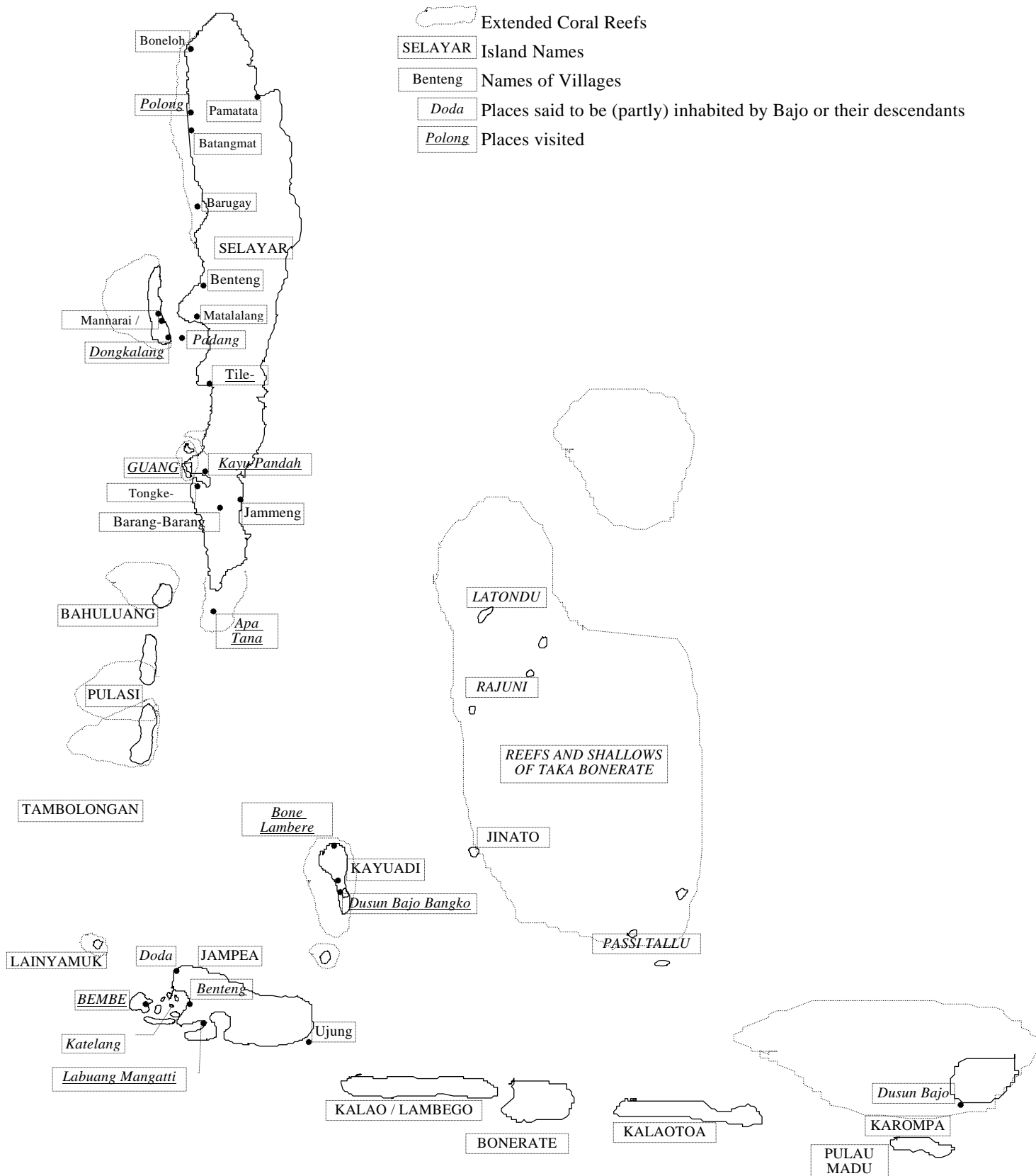
4 Appendixes

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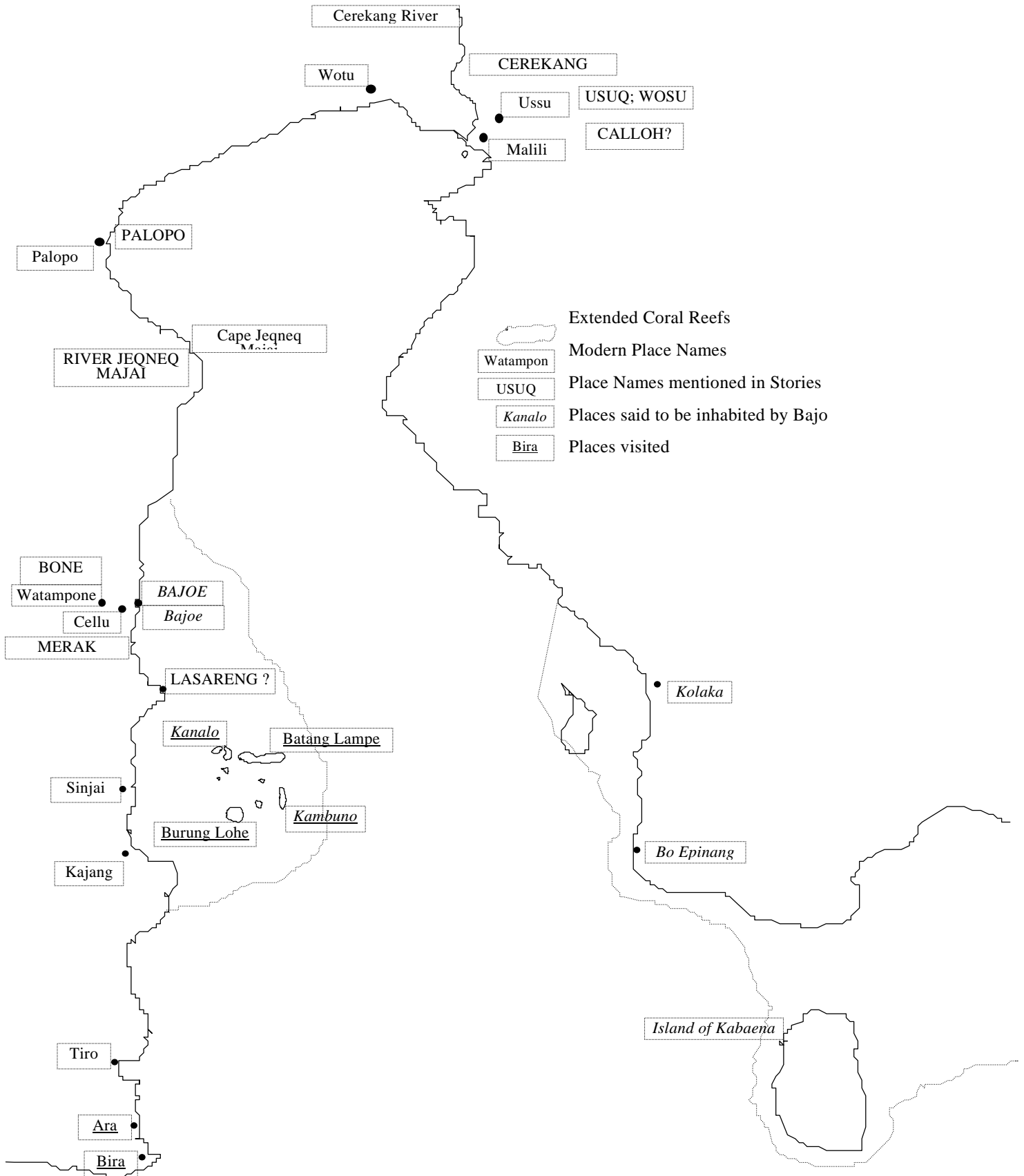
4.2 Maps of Area of Research

4.2.1 Selayar and Vicintiy



4.2.2

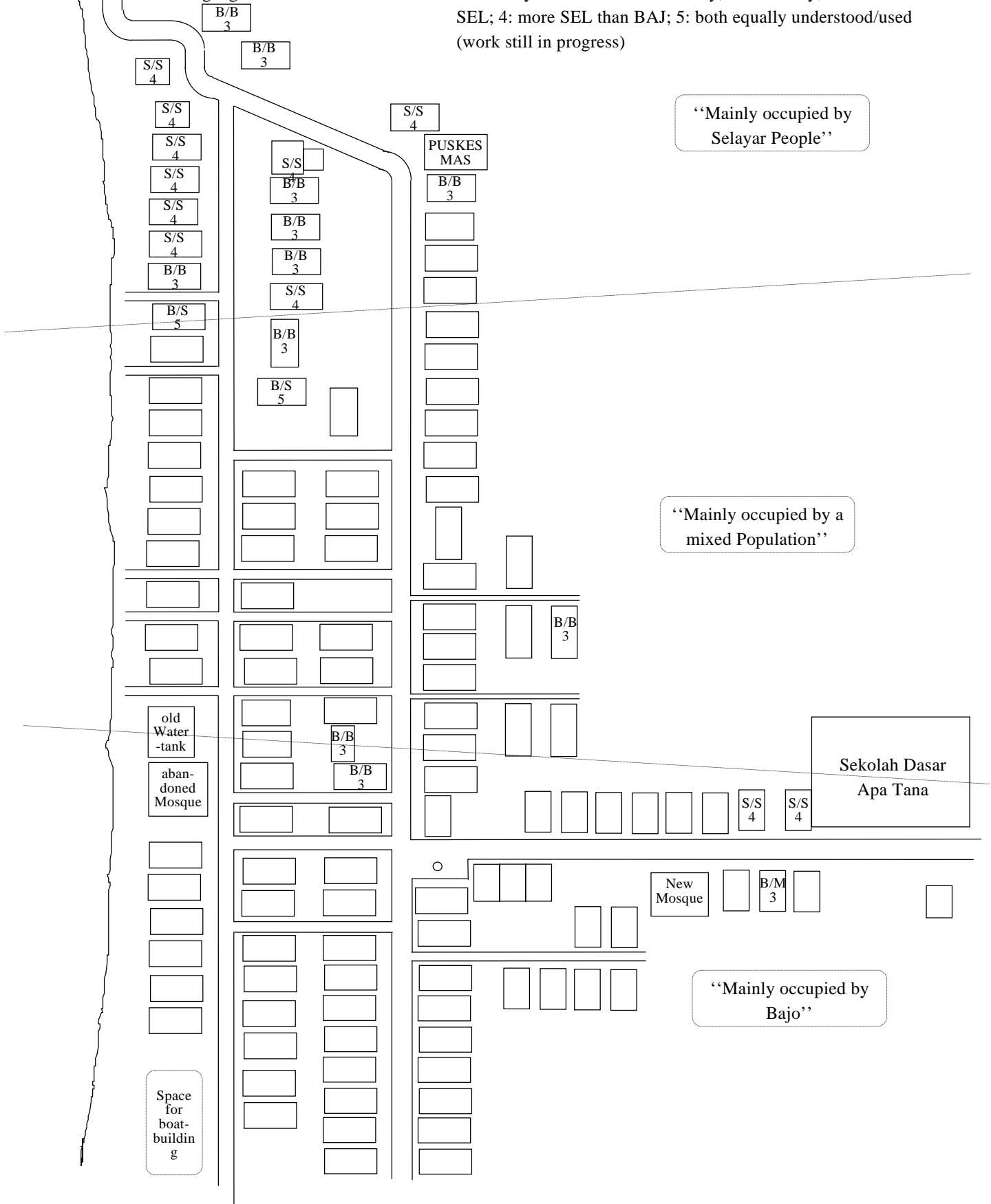
Gulf of Bone



4.2.3 Sketch of the Village of Apa Tana

First Line: Ethnic membership of HUSBAND/WIFE - B: Bajo; S: Selayar; M: Mandar

Second Line: Language understood or used in household/daily commerce - 1: BAJ only; 2: SEL only; 3: more BAJ than SEL; 4: more SEL than BAJ; 5: both equally understood/used (work still in progress)



4.2.4 Sketch of the Dusun Bajo, Village of Kayu Pandah, Selayar

First Line: Ethnic membership of HUSBAND/WIFE - B: Bajo; S: Selayar; BU: Bugis; FL: Flores

Second Line: Language used by children - BAJ: Bajo; SEL: Selayar



4.3

Transcripts

As the following texts are based on recordings of narratives, I decided not to use fullstops, but lines to denote breaks in the stream of speech. The language, too, has not been changed into standard Indonesian but is left in the dialect used by the informants. [Cornered brackets] contain explanations; the person mentioned under the name of Pak Yunus is Bp. Yunus Dg. Eko, a famous Biran captain who accompanied me during the trips where the recordings had been made. Bp. Yunus is very versed and interested in local history and legends and found the quest for the origin of the Bajo a most enticing topic, so that he inquired out of own curiosity for several crucial points. Questions during the interviews are marked by ?two questions marks?.

4.3.1

Version from Benteng Jamea

“Gowa memang ada hubungannya dengan pulau Jamea - itu dulu memang Gowa kerajaan - jadi setelah ini raja goa itu dulu meninggal isterinya, maka payung kerajaan yang setinggi satu jengkal menghilang - jadi setelah ini hilangnya payung itu Raja Gowa gelisah cari di mana-mana cara kebetulan diketemukan di daerah Luwuq - ada itu gunung di sana disebut Bulu Puloe - pada waktu itu ada di antara orang-orang tua seorang gadis anaknya berasal dari Malengkeri - keluar memancing akhirnya sampai angin topan dihanyut musim barat - akhirnya terdampar di Calloh, daerah Luwuq - payung tersebut setelah menghilang dari Gowa presis ada sama perempuan ini karena perempuan ini sudah diketemukan oleh seorang nelayan - istilah orang nelayan pakai *sero* - setelah dia menuju ke *seronya* dilihat ada cahaya di sana - setelah sampai di *seronya* itu didapatkan seorang gadis yang tidak diketahui bahasa apa yang dia pakai - tapi ini memang sudah Bajo - akhirnya diambil oleh orang tua ini dipelihara sampai gadis ini bersih dirinya dan semakin cantik - setelah pada saat itu dibuka kopornya, istilahnya bahasa Bajo *katumbuh*, dibuka, dia terkejut mengapa ada payung di dalam - jadi lama-kelamaan utusan-utusan Raja Gowa itu sampai di sungai Luwuq diketemukan sebuah rumah - di sana terdapat seorang gadis yang cantik - namanya itu perempuan Caddiq-Caddiq Yamiq - setelah diketemukan di sana itu digeleda - terdapat itu payung - sampai utusan itu kembali ke Gowa - melaporkan kepada Raja Gowa bahwa payung sekarang sudah diketemukan di suatu rumah di daerah Luwuq - di Calloh namanya - akhirnya Raja Gowa menyuruh mereka lagi untuk mengambil itu perempuan dengan orang tuanya - sampai di Gowa langsung dikawini - satu saat ini Raja Gowa ini pusing - lalu bahasa apa yang dipakai ini saya punya isteri - tidak diketahui bahasanya - akhirnya melahirkan seorang anak - jadi istilahnya gadis-gadis Gowa itu kalau jalan di samping rumah Raja Gowa selalu menyanyi: *kontu jukku andangan, manyareqna mapalanra, anak bayoa niagamma juru tope* - jadi tiga kali ini gadis melanggar, jadi tiga kali ini gadis menyanyi - tapi itu isteri Raja Gowa sudah merasa terhina, langsung menjawab dengan sasarannya juga: *teako jari bajoku, naikna battu ri jeqneq, niapi Bajo niapi Somba ri Gowa* - jadi justru adanya di Gowa karena istilah Lolo Bajo: *nyombaku*, Opu, bukan begitu ... - sampai ada timbul Sombaiya ri Gowa karena suku Bajo - tapi orang Gowa marah kalau istilah begitu, jadi dirobah itu nyanyian: *teako cari/jari bajoku, battu ri jeqneqku, antu bajoa jarina to sombaiya*- baru itu Gowa senang - kemudian nyanyi lagi ini isterinya Raja Gowa: *mana tidung tatidungku, mana Bajo tabajoku, tidung karaeng, bajoka risomba tonji*- itulah - jadi inilah artinya dari pihak perempuan isteri Sombaiya ri Gowa melahirkan beranak-beranak sampai ada turunannya yang dinamakan Rommeng - Rommenglah yang menemukan pulau Jamea pada tahun 1421 - waktu itu pulau Jamea masih dihuni oleh suku Seram - inilah yang membasmi suku Seram, itu Rommeng, saya punya nenek-moyang itu, keturunan Lolo Bajo, berasal dari Calloh, daerah Luwuq saya kira itu Calloh - Rommenglah yang ada keturunan sampai ke sekarang, jadi berarti kami ini sudah keturunan ke-14 - isteri Rommeng inilah yang melahirkan tiga orang anak: Ambulo, perempuan ini, kedua Jariming, perempuan juga, ketiga laki-laki La Aba - Jariming inilah lari ke Sumbawa Barat - Sumbawa Bungeng, jadi sekarang itu di Sumbawa Bungeng itu asli semua suku Lolo Bajo tidak ada campurannya - jadi yang namanya Bingeng Saqkate itu memang asli Lolo Bajo di sana - pulau Katela dulu memang suku Bajo tapi sudah banyak campurannya - suku Selayar, suku Makassar, tapi yang pertama ini menduduki itu pulau Katelang itu Rommeng dari Lolo Bajo [...] kami inilah keturunan dari Rommeng - sebenarnya ada sejarahnya di sini, sejarah usahanya itu Rommeng untuk mengusir itu Seram, ada di sini - ada *lontaraqna* - sebenarnya sudah saya salin, karena *lontaraqna* tidak dapat lagi anu itu, jadi saya baharui - dan dia itu Rommeng sendiri yang menjadi *punggawa* pertama di Jamea selama 37 tahun - dia yang pertama menjejakkan kaki di pulau Jamea di katelang pada tahun 1431 - bersama kawannya, artinya sawinya itu [...]

[recording distorted by background voices: Raja Gowa punya perahu yang namanya Lambere Bajo - mau pergi *nganre-nganre* ke Sanro Bone - tapi perahu tak mau turun] - sampai katanya coba memanggil Sombaiya Bahine - dipanggil, dan dia pegang di belakang perahunya, katanya: ‘*Sorongmi Lambere Bayo, lampa naung ri Segeri, maressa-maressa ri bawana Sanrang Bone*’, melompat itu perahu - setelah berdayung -dia sudah berangkat- menyanyi lagi isteri Raja Gowa: ‘*Lampami Lambere Bajo, rua lalang paggayunna, ri lalang daeng, ri lalang anak pattola*’ - jadi kalau saya ke Daerah Sungguminasa, ke Gowa, saya tidak takut berbicara, karena memang *lontaraq* - memang ada kaitannya, karena ada keturunannya, bukan sembarangan manusia - jadi baik kalau ada tulisan, yang tidak dapat diingat akan diingat, karena sejarah suku Bajo itu jikalau dua hari dua malam belum habis kalau diceritakan jadi itu Gowa itu dulu istilahnya Raja, Karaeng, tapi setelah diperisterikan anak Lolo Bajo itu ada istilahnya Sombaiya ri Gowa, karena suku Bajo yang punya suku kata, ‘*nyombaku Opu*’, berarti, minta ampun

4.3.2

Kayuadi Version

[first part distorted by background noises: ... di Luwuq - ada kembar yang dipisah ketika dilahirkan - masing-masing tidak tahu tentang saudaranya - terakhirnya silelaki ...]

“... sebegitu lama, perempuan juga begitu, tidak tahu bahwa punya saudara, ada tidak - dia orang tidak tahu - lantas sudah besar itu anak, piggi main ayam - lantas, di kolom rumah neneknya (tapi ini orang tidak tahu bahwa ini rumah saya punya nenek ini) ada satu lembar rambut yang turun di bahunya - lantas dia tarik begini, dia bilang, panjang ini rambut ini, barangkali ada anaknya gadis - jadi pulang ke rumahnya, dia kasih tahu dengan mamaknya: ey mamak, ada satu rumah, ada perempuan terlebih panjang rambutnya - lebih baik, dia bilang, kamu pergi melamar - ah, dia bilang, tidak bisa, kau punya saudara kandung itu, kalau dapat rambut panjang, karena tidak ada lain yang panjang rambutnya selain daripada saya punya anak sendiri - bilang anaknya, tidak, orang lain, sampai dia tidak bisa tahan lagi hawa nafsu, mau sama perempuan itu yang punya rambut, tapi belum kelihatan orangnya - sampai lama-kelamaan begitu, mamak memanggil anaknya ke rumahnya, rumahnya sendiri, dari rumahnya neneknya - sampai ke situ, dibilang, oh ini kau punya saudara sendiri, mau sama dia? - dia bilang, tidak, saya tidak tahu saya punya saudara - coba masih kecil mamak kasih tahu saya punya saudara, mungkin aku tahu, tapi ini tidak, baru saja dibilang

[Pak Yunus:]?siapa itu namanya, Bapak?

[Lepo] Oh itu saya minta maaf, saya tidak dikasih tahu sama saya punya bapak - lantas itu orang lelaki sudah cinta sama saudaranya - dikasih mundur hawanya tidak mau - lantas mau dikawini terus maksudnya - dibilang itu perempuan: tidak bisa, kita saudara, saya di nenek, baru besar, baru dikasih tahu - lantas, dibilang, kalau kau cinta sama saya, saya punya tujuan sama kamu, lebih baik kau piggi tebang itu pohon kayu - itu pohon itu besar, kira-kira kalau mau dijadikan perahu, tujuh buah perahu jadinya

[another person] Itu Tuan barangkali yang dinamakan *Saberigading* - kalau kita berbahasa Bajo, pohon *bulanreh* ...

[Lepo] tapi itu perahu namanya *Saberigading* - jadi sampai dia bilang, kau piggi sudah tebang - sampai dia orang piggi karena cintanya sama orang yang ditujukan saudaranya [this was not mentioned before, but clearly obvious to the listeners] terus dia mau piggi tebang - tahu-tahu sudah di sana jangan lagi isi kayu mau dimakan sama kapak, tidak, sedangkan kulitnya tidak bisa karena batu, jadi batu - sampai sekarang itu ampas-ampasnya kapak itu bukan main seperti bukit kecil-kecil itu, kumpulannya itu kapak hancur - jadi, pulang dia, tidak bisa, musti aku kawini sama kamu karena itu kayu tidak bisa dimakan kapak - kau sudah piggi? - dia bilang, sudah, tapi tidak mau makan itu kayu saya punya kapak - jadi dia bilang, kalau kau betul-betul cinta dan mau piggi ke tanah Cina, dia anaknya Raja Cina, yah, saya piggi kelilingi - tiga kali begini keliling pohon, baru dimakan itu kayu sama kapak - sampai ke situ, kan, kebetulan itu kayu sudah tebantih, semua burung-burung di luar kampung, di luar negeri itu ada di situ semua berkumpul, di pohon itu bertelur - jadi waktu itu kayu sudah terbalik, jadi itu telur semua picah - itu air telur menjadi alir ke laut - jadi kali Palopo - jadi sungai besar - sampai ke situ, ini anak Bajo piggi cari tripang, yang dinamai Basse - sampai ke situ, yah maklum dia juga tidak tahu ada banjir hebat, karena sudah di lautan - sampai dia di situ dibawa sampannya sampai ke pertengahan di antara Kabaena dan Bugis - sampai di situ dia sudah di pinggir itu air kali yang mengalir keluar - jadi di Bugis, sekitar jam 10 begitu, angin timur, sampai di situ dipukul itu sampan ke pertengahan Bira sama Selayar, terus ke barat - terus piggi ke Bantaeng, terus ke Palengu, Palengu Nassar, Nassar sampai Tanakeke - di Tanakeke lari utara itu angin - sampai di Gowa di situ dia terdampar di serong, di serong orang -

[Pak Yunus:]?Sendirian?

[Lepo] Sendirian itu, Pak, anak gadis - ada semua, tombak teripang, pengambil lola, di dalam sampan, ladung, ada semua di situ - sampai di situ, orang ketiduran dalam sampan itu - datang yang punya serong, piggi ke serongnya, dibilang, mati kau sudah ini, yang ini yang bikin habis saya punya ikan serong ini - disangka pencuri - sedangkan itu orang sudah tak bisa bergerak lagi, karena haus - yah sampai di situ, ditanya sama orang serong, tapi tidak bisa menjawab karena lain bahasa - tidak tahu bahasa Makassar, orang Makassar tidak tahu bahasa Bajo - jadi tarik sampannya ke kampung - sampai di kampung itu anak dipelihara sama yang punya serong - lama-kelamaan di situ tinggal, ketahuan sama Raja Gowa, terus melamar sama orang serong, sampai diterima, jadi kawin dia - jadi pengantin sudah - yah, pengantin, kira-kira sudah satu bulan atau dua bulan lebih

[Pak Yunus:]?Siapa itu namanya itu gadis?

[Lepo] Basse, Basse namanya - jadi itu orang lama-kelamaan di situ, tidak bicara seperti kita, bicara orang pepe, tidak tahu bahasa - jadi saling kedua tidak tahu bahasa, yang lelaki tidak tahu bahasa Bajo, yang perempuan tidak tahu bahasa Makassar - jadi sampai dia beranak, beranak lelaki - sampai di situ kira-kira itu anak kira-kira 10 harikah atau kurang, anak menangis - dikasih tidur oleh mamaknya - mamaknya mau piggi cuci dia punya sarung yang robek-robek, karena anak kecil masih, tidak tahu pakai pakaian yang baik-baik itu - baru diayun itu anak, tidur sebentar, bangun sebentar - tidur, bangun lagi memangis, diayun lagi, tidur lagi - jadi ini mamak sudah turun pergi cuci - bangun lagi menangis, jadi ini bapaknya datang ke anaknya - datang ke anaknya dengan nyanyinya, bapaknya menyanyi - itu nyanyinya begini: *auleq jukku andangang, manyereq namapalanna - anak bajoa niagamma julu topi* [MAK] - ah sudah perasaan ini perempuan - dia bilang, saya ini sudah dicelah sama saya punya laki - karena hamis saya dia sudah bikin nyanyi - karena itu ikan bukan hamis, bau ikan - jadi kecil hati dia - habis mencuci, dia sudah pakai pakaian kering, dia piggi ambil anaknya - suaminya dia lari sembunyi ke muka - tahu-tahu ke muka, terus ke bawah, di kolom - jahit layar - sampai ke kolom, isterinya nyanyi juga, dia bilang, *teako cali bajoa, caqcaraq torijeqneqna, niapi Bajo, nania somba ri Gowa* [MAK] - na baru dia tahu suaminya, oh, orang Bajo katanya, yang saya kawini, baru dia tahu - ada lagi satu nyanyinya, *mana Bajo taqbajoa, mana tedong taqtedongang, tedong karaeng, bajoa risomba tonji* [MAK] - ada lagi nyanyinya, *nai ana intu la intu mange, ajappa maponto kebo, silalang Bajo, silalang anaq karaeng* [MAK] - waktunya mau dicari itu siBasse ini, Raja punya omong, piggi cari ini yang namanya Basse - kalau tidak dapat, jangan ada yang pulang ke kampung - kalau ada orang pulang ke kampung, saya cincang seperti pasir halusnya

[Pak Yunus:]?Bapaknya punya omong begitu?

[Lepo] Yah, bapaknya Basse, kan, orang yang mau piggi cari, tersiar semua, orang Bajo - ada ke Banggai, ada ke Flores, ada ke Sumbawa, macam-macam orang punya tujuan, orang Bajo yang piggi cari siBasse - tapi orang tidak dapat - hanya, tidak ada orang pulang karena takut - tahu-tahu orang yang dicari ada di Ujung Pandang, di Gowa, sudah punya anak - baru dikasih kabar piggi ke Bugis - baru dia orang tahu bahwa anaknya ada di Gowa, punya suami, anak Raja - jadi ini yang mau piggi ke cina itu begitulah - dijadikan tujuh buah perahu itu kayu - terus berlayar itu silelaki -

[Pak Yunus]?Tapi itu bukan Bajo, Pak, yang memotong pohon kayu?

[Lepo] Asal Bajo, asal Bajo juga - yang kawin sama anaknya sultan Gowa, dia bersaudara sama in yang mau berangkat ke tana cina - bersaudara kandung, tapi saling tidak kenal - sampai ini orang berlayar, bawa tukang gendang juga ada di perahu itu, tukang main ayam, ada semua di situ - berlayar piggi di Sumatera - sampai di Sumatera, kelilingi jalan di Medan - dan ke Padang Aceh - di situ dia menurut riwayat berlabuh menunggu angin baik baru piggi di Cina - tahu-tahu, tidak bisa lagi berangkat dia, terus itu perahu jadi batu semua, tidak ada orang kembali - hilangmi jadi bukan yang satu itu, dia menjadi Raja di Gowa, yang potong kayu - hanyut karena banjir besar lain, hanyut karena dipotong itu kayu, air telur punya banjir

[I]?Dari tujuh buah perahu itu, cuma satu yang masih diketahui nasibnya?

[Lepo] Yah - tidak tahu ke mana arahnya yang keenam yang lain hanya yang ada di Padang Aceh itu

[I]?Apa namanya perahu-perahu yang lain itu - ada namanya?

[Lepo] Yang tinggal di Aceh itu yang dinamai Saberigadeh - Saberigading, yah - kalau yang lain-lain, kurang tahu juga - sekarang dinamakan Sehergading, ada juga, Sabergading

[Pak Yunus]?Jadi perahu, bukan manusia?

[Lepo] Bukan, perahu, bukan manusia

[I]?Apa yang terjadi di Gowa sementara itu?

[Lepo] Orang tuanya piggi lihat anaknya - baru ketemu semua

[I]?Itu ada nyanyian satu tentang lambere Bajo?

[Lepo] Yah - *sorongi lambere bayo, lamanaung ri segeri, marissa-rissa ri bawana sanrabone* [MAK] - itu dia punya nyanyian

[I]?kapan itu nyanyian dipakai?

[discussion in Bajo about] bukanlah ketika ada perahu yang mau diluncurkan? - apakah sampan atau perahu, saya tidak tahu - sudah jadi nyanyian

4.3.3

The *Kelong*

Of these verses, repeatedly called *kelong sampulotallu* (MAK: 'the thirteen verses'), I was able to collect only 11 -10 mentioned by the informant from Rajuni met with in Kayuadi, an additional one mentioned in the story from Jampea- as my informants claimed to have forgotten about the other ones. The verses follow the rules for rhythm and rhyme appropriate for a Makassar *kelong*; the language used not in all cases is genuine MAK, but obviously mixed up with SEL (or badly rendered by people who do not understand MAK or SEL); Makassarese speakers of the Goa dialect consulted admitted difficulties in translating these *kelong*. Unluckily the one mentioned most often (*manna*) proved to be the one which contained the biggest difficulties.

Rajuni	Jampea	Kayuadi	Versions cited by Soesangobeng	Translation
auleq jukku andangang	kontu jukku andangan, ,	auleq jukku andangang		Stenching is the fish on a drying platform
manyereqna mapalanna	manyareqna mapalanra	manyereqna mapalanna		reeking badly the crossbeams (??)
anak bayoa ri agamma julu tope	anak bayoa niagamma juru tope	anak bajoa niagamma julu topi		the Bajo ???
teaq calli bayoa	teako jari bajoku	teako cali bajo	teaq calai bajo	Don't abuse the Bajo
caqaraq ka torijeqneq	naikna/biqjaq battu ri jeqneq	caqaraq torijeqneqna	tetereqkiq torijeqneq	belittle the Torijeqneq
niapi bayo, nania somba ri goa	niapi bajo niapi somba ri gowa / antu bajoa jarina to sombaiya	niapi bajo, nania somba ri gowa	niaqpi bajo, naniaq somba ri gowa	if there would be no Bajo, there would be no King of Gowa
manna bayo tabayoa	manna tidung tatidungku	manna bajo taqbajoa	mana bajo tabajoang	
manna cidung tacidungang	manna bajo tabajoku	manna tedong taqtedongang	mana tidung tatidoang	
cidung karaeng bayoakaq ri somba tonji	tidung karaeng, bajoka risomba tonji	tedong karaeng, bajoa risomba tonji	karaeng risomba, bajo risomba tonji	
sorongmi lambere bayo	sorongmi lambere bayo	sorongi lambere bayo		Push the Lambere Bajo

kiqmanaung ri segeri	lampa naung ri segeri	lamanaung ri segeri		sailing down to Segeri
maqresa-resa ri bawana sanra bone	maressa-maressa ri bawana sanrang bone	marissa-rissa ri bawana sanrabone		?? in the estuary of Sanrobone
	lampami lambere bajo			The Lambere Bajo left
	rua lalang paggayunna			two rowers inside
	ri lalang daeng, ri lalang anak pattola	silalang bajo, silalang anaq karaeng		the Bajo together with the children of the King

Kelong cited by informant form Rajuni only:

nai anaq anjo mai	Who is that child coming along
amisse mabonto kebo	waving a hand (wrist) with a white bracelet
lolo bayoa manurunna to ri jeqne	a <i>lolo bajo</i> , the <i>manurung</i> of the <i>torijeqneq</i>
bayoana iko mai	His girlfriend (?) come(s) over here
ri tukka tallu anronna	on the staircase there are three posts
tallu anronna tallumpulo baringanna	three posts, thirteen steps
punna gaukiq bayoa	If the Bajo are carrying out a ceremony
naiqkiq bandera kuniqna	they set their yellow flag
ula-ulana mamentengi ri dallekanna	their <i>ula-ula</i> is waving in front
siganrana lenggang soppeq	?? <i>soppeq</i> - type of Bajo boat??
ka to bayo andongkoki	(Ka - filler?) the Bayo people are on it
ka Torijeqneq anguncirikiq gulinna	the <i>torijeqneq</i> steer her rudder
bandera bolong ri lauq	Black flag on the sea
malekko ri tana keke	turning at Tana Keke
barang manggeku battu raya ri takakqna	the belongings of my grandfather are in the on his (?) reef
kalompoanna bayoa	The <i>kalompong</i> (sacred items) of the Bajo
tattanangi rate ri goa	are above in Gowa
kasinaranna niakiq ri lakiung	the truth is found in Lakiung

4.3.4

Comparison of Motives found in the Stories

Motive Version	The driven-off Princess						Flood	Sawerigading	
	named	from	to	marries	quest	remarks	caused by	is	sails to
Jampea	Caddiq- Caddiq Yamiq	Malengkeri Lambata	Calloh, near Bulu Puloe in Luwuq	King of Gowa	----	found in dugout together with royal umbrella of Gowa; offspring become <i>Lolo Bajo</i>	----	----	----
Kayuadi	Basse	Luwuq	Gowa	King of Gowa	yes	found in dugout; offspring become <i>Lolo Bajo</i>	eggs which break when tree <i>bulanreh</i> is felled	name of boat of brother of Basse	Padang Aceh; manned by Bajo; turns to stone
Apa Tana	(1) ----	(1) unknown origin	(1) Gowa	(1) King of Gowa	(1) no	(1) found in bamboo; offspring become Bajo people	(1) breaking eggs	human being who wants to marry twin-sister	sinks in Selayar Strait
	(2) daughter of King of Bajo	(2) Luwuq	(2) ----	(2) ----	(2) yes	(2) driven off while playing on shore	(2) ----	----	-----
Ara	Sitti Manurung	Luwuq, Bulu Puloe	Gowa	King of Gowa	----	offspring become <i>Lolo Bajo</i>	breaking eggs	human being who wants to marry twin-sister	Cina; manned by Bajo
Bajoe; Dahlan Sawe 1986	(1) daughter of King of Johor	(1) Johor	(1) Cerekang, Luwuq	(1) ----	(1) yes	(1) Bajo settle in Cerekang	(1) ----	----	----
							breaking eggs drift Bajo people from Cerekang to Malili	human being who wants to marry twin-sister	Cina
	(2) Puteri Papu; daughter of King of Bajo	(2) Malili	(2) Gowa	(2) King of Gowa	(2) yes	(2) one group searches in SE-Sulawesi Tenggara, second in S-Sulawesi	(2) ----	----	----
Bajoe;	----	Usuq near	Gowa	King of	no	leaves with her child to	breaking eggs	human being	?

Soesangobeng 1977		Malili in Luwuq		Gowa		unknown place; offspring become Bajo people(??)	drifting off all Bajo people		
Spondak Mandarek, Soesangobeng 1977	male and female children of Bajo origin	Luwuq (?)	Ternate; Gowa	girl with King of Gowa	?	establishes new kingdom at Bone after marriage	felling of tree <i>walenreng</i>	?	?